

ENGLAND
UNDER THE
TUDORS AND STUARTS
(1485-1714)

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FOREWORD

The present volume purports to present within a convenient compass the salient features of two very important periods of English history. England under her Tudor and Stuart kings began to exhibit that lusty vigour of her national life which in due course brought her to the forefront among the powers of Europe. She began to make rapid strides in arts and literature, in trade and commerce while in overseas expansion she out-distanced all her rivals. Hence the periods covered by the volume are at once instructive and interesting and no student with a pretence to historical scholarship can afford to neglect them. For Indian students of history and politics the constitutional conflicts of the periods have a special appeal. The practical genius of the English people has developed a constitutional system which is a marvel of political engineering. It is an object-lesson to all those who seek political progress unstained by bloody excesses.

The present volume is intended for advanced students who have got beyond elementary outlines. The learned authors have made a comprehensive survey of the periods, touching upon a wide range of topics, social, political, economic and cultural. In their treatment of the topics they have taken great care to ensure clarity by emphasising major trends and events and slurring over minor details. From references in the book it appears that the authors have made a judicious use of several standard text-books and this, it is hoped, will enable the students to study the topics in a critical spirit. I have no hesitation in saying that the book will prove highly useful to those for whom it is intended.

L. Mukherjee

PREFACE

The publication of this book needs a word of explanation. The idea of a book like this had its genesis in the lecture halls. Long experience with students has enabled us to assess what the pupils need in learning and mastering the British History.

The Tudor and Stuart Periods of British History have special importance. Modern England owes its growth during these ages. This handbook endeavours to state story in a clear, concise and systematic manner. In text-books generally the chronological order is followed. Events and movements of considerable duration are treated not as wholes, but as portions of reigns. The treatment of such subjects is done by oral teaching. Much of the effect of oral teaching is lost, if class notes are not jotted carefully. This book will help students to follow up class lectures and master topical subjects, treated comprehensively here. This book has, besides, its object to encompass in a manageable form important details and to lessen the amount of time required of reading different text-books and reference books. We have also taken pains to impart to our work the character of an analytical text book with incorporation of findings of recent researches and critical reviews so that students may base their knowledge on solid ground-work. To learn lessons adequately students require to remember the salient points of a topic. Analyses of topics with jottings of points will be found useful. The style aims at being simple and lucid, the treatment of subjects has been made topical and comprehensive; and conclusions and estimates have been drawn upon carefully.

Almost all the text-books on the subject have been consulted. University and Public Service Examination Questions have been incorporated as guide to preparation.

We shall deem our labours amply rewarded if the students find it helpful.

We own a deep debt of gratitude to Professor L. Mukherjee M.A., Emeritus Professor of History and far-famed author of *Historical Studies*, for his kind guidance and '*Foreword*'.

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THE HOUSE OF TUDOR
1485-1603

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HENRY VII	1485—1509
HENRY VIII	1509—1547
EDWARD VI	1547—1553
MARY I	1553—1558
ELIZABETH I	1558—1603

PRELUDE

ADVENT OF THE TUDORS : A NEW ERA

THE YEAR 1485—A LANDMARK IN ENGLISH HISTORY

Analysis :

1. First Tudor King Henry VII ascends.
2. End of the Wars of the Roses and of feudalism.
3. Reduction of nobles' power and growth of royal authority.
4. Emergence of National State.
5. New Monarchy or Crown in Parliament.
6. Growth of Middle Class.
7. New Learning and Reformation.
8. Growth of Individualism.
9. Growth of Merchant Navy.
10. Development of cloth Trade, commerce and Sea Power.
11. Dignified Foreign policy.

In the year 1485 Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, fought Richard III in the battle of Bosworth. He won the battle. The crown was now placed on Henry's head, and thence he came to be called Henry VII. With Henry's accession there dawned a new era. As years rolled on, England broke off from the moorings of medievalism. *Henry VII's reign therefore marked a new epoch in the history of England.*

Henry
VII's reign
—a new
epoch.

The old order of feudalism—with its concomitant war, civil war and bloodshed, bad government, weak monarchy and tyranny over serfs and tenants—was on its fleeting heels. With Bosworth the wars of the Roses terminated. The feudal lords had virtually perished ; and after the Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt the villeins had grown bold and shattered the shackles of serfdom. Henry VII also dealt a death-blow to feudalism by enacting laws against "Livery"

Features :
(1)
Feudalism
replaced
by
modernism

and "Maintenance", by establishing the Court of Star Chamber and by offering offices of state to middle class people.

When the feudal barons were discomfited, there was a void in the social and political structure. The vacuum was filled up by the royal authority. The first Tudor King soon enforced orderly government. The people heaved a sigh of relief and were contented. The revolts that raised their heads were crushed and feudal lords humbled. The people of the island rallied round the King, as they believed that England was safe in the hands of their Tudor monarchs. The Tudor King had now become the King of the English people and not the King of a few feudal lords. There grew nationalism in England and the emergence of national state in England was a long leap into modernism.

In this state the King echoed the aspirations of the people who in turn acquiesced in what the King wished. Parliament was subservient to the King, but the crown in Parliament was a mighty power in the state during the Tudor period. It effected a series of revolutions, even in religious affairs too. In the Middle Ages such a course of action would have been considered as altogether beyond the legal and moral competence of any power in England. But the nation asserted its new strength through its King. Henry VII thus established the New Monarchy firmly.

Parliament was, about this time, immature. It was then a half debating club and half court of law, and had neither the strength nor the ambition to be supreme authority. The King therefore ruled independently of Parliament, but did not challenge the legal supremacy of Parliament. The King called Parliament in times of need and got the seal of sanction to what he wanted. The King grew in importance during this period, but Parliament gained in stature unnoticed, to emerge supreme in future years.

As the power of the nobles declined, there grew up in strength and importance the middle-class who

helped the Tudors, and the Tudors helped them with rewards and high offices. The growth of middle class led to growth of individual enterprises and efflorescence of the nation in general

(5)
Growth of
middle
class.

The English people were also undergoing changes in this age. Their habits had changed and their minds were stirred for New Learning and Re-thinking on Religion. Henry VII encouraged the new learners. He sent scholars to Italy to learn Greek and Latin. Henry's mother Margaret patronised New Learning and founded two colleges. Erasmus, Colet and More popularised the Renaissance, as a result of which the medieval literature with Dialectic, Grammar and Rhetoric started disappearing and new modern subjects like Philosophy, Sciences, and Art began to be studied with much avidity.

(6)
New
Learning.

From Renaissance there came the Reformation. The people became critical about the vices and lapses in the church. They read the Bible in print and understood Christian religion better from it. They felt that much of what the church had taught was not justified by what was in the Bible. About this time the papal influence was also on the decline. When Henry VII ascended the throne, the attack on the Church grew in intensity. He and his son Henry VIII came to clashes with the Pope over ecclesiastical matters. Soon thereafter the Act of Supremacy banished the authority of the Pope from England. The king soon became the 'Pope in England', "the head of the English Church." The English Reformation was an event of vast modernising effects. When the authority of the Pope was gone, people were free to think about religion, society and state, and new values were enunciated.

(7)
Reforma-
tion.

Breathing an air of freedom and new hopes the common man rose up, and there was individualism writ large in the kingdom. The individuals of all classes were free to wander and seek fortune afar. They became restless to move about and make a mark in all walks of life. Trade and

(8)
Growth of
indivi-
dualism.

Commerce, avocations of the seas and ships and the dream of living in colonies abroad—occupied their thoughts. The Tudor monarchs encouraged their aspirations and thus the English people marched on from medievalism and isolation to modernism and expansion.

It was during this Tudor period that the merchant navy was founded by Henry VII. Under Henry VIII the Royal Navy came into existence. In 1588 England reaped the harvest when the Armada was defeated. England was constantly encouraged by the Tudors to be the mistress of the high seas ; and ultimately she acquired a world-wide British empire. It was in the Tudor Age that England saw its real beginnings. The Tudors gave a new direction to the external and expansive energies of the English people.

There was unprecedented development of cloth trade from 1485 onwards. The Tudor kings constantly nurtured the cloth trade of England. Along with the cloth industry the wool trade of England also flourished. Her commodities found flourishing new markets in the Levant and Baltic, in the East and West Indies and in Virginia and Massachusetts. London soon became the centre of industry.

In matters of diplomacy and foreign policy Henry VII and his successors brought glory for their country. At the beginning of the Tudor Age England was only a European power ; but France, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire commanded more power and prestige. England therefore made no serious attempt to conquer France, but preferred defensive measures against the new French and Spanish monarchs. Her monarchs realised that in the "Balance of Power" lay England's only chance of security in the face of great continental states. Towards the end of the Tudor period England was perhaps the greatest power to reckon with in Europe.

In course of a century England under the Tudors sped steadily into modernism, shedding the medieval moorings.

Critical Note

It is not wholly correct that the modern history of England began in 1485. History is a continuous process. A history of today has its roots in the past. A historical process of modern times will be found to have its genesis in the past times. So it disturbs historical understanding if a pin-point of date or year is taken to be the beginning of modern history of England. It is a fallacious argument, yet it is generally accepted to crudely demarcate between two ages for the sake of convenience. This is historians' convenience, though a fallacy.

So far as 1485 is concerned there happened one particular event, namely Henry VII of the House of Tudors became King of England. Overnight England did not become modern. But Henry VII and his successors began to think anew, process events anew and take greater objective interests in the European and maritime activities—all together helped to usher in a new age of dynamic vivacity and modernism in England. In that sense, from 1485 onwards the modern age of England crept in.

HENRY VII, 1485—1509 (24 YEARS)

[Born 1456, married 1486. Elizabeth of York]

Chief characters of the Reign

Archbishop Morton ; Edward Plantagenet ; Lambert Simnel
Perkin Warbeck ; Sir William Stanley , Sir Edward Poynings

Chief Contemporary Princes

Scotland	France	Spain
James III, d. 1488	Charles VIII d. 1489	Ferdinand & Isabella
James IV. d. 1513	Louis XII, d. 1515	1479—1516 c. 1504.

1. ACCESSION OF HENRY VII

Analysis : RIGHT OF HENRY VII TO THE THRONE

1. Claim by descent, but others had better right by descent.
2. Claim by conquest,—but conquest confers no right.
3. Claim by recognition of Parliament.
4. Pope sanctioned succession.

POSSIBLE RIVALS .

1. Edward, Earl of Warwick (in the Tower, 1485—99)
2. Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV (married to Henry, VII)

CLAIMANTS (Pretenders)

1. Lambert Simnel . claimed to be Earl of Warwick
2. Perkin Warbeck ; claimed to be Richard, Duke of York.

Henry VII ascended the throne of England in 1485. He claimed the crown on three grounds—right of birth, right of conquest and approval by Parliament.

Firstly, the hereditary claim was thus. He descended from the Tudor family of Wales on his father's side , and on the mother's side he was a Lancastrian, as he descended from John of Gaunt through Beaufort. It is well known that the wars of the Roses were in fact a series of struggles for the crown between the descendants of Edward III, who belonged either to the House of York or to that of Lancaster. He being a Lancastrian could aver that he had a claim to the

throne. But when the rival claims of the Lancastrians and the Yorkists are examined, it is seen that the Lancastrians had a weak title and the Beaufort branch was illegitimate in its origin. And the House of York had a superior hereditary claim. So Edward, Earl of Warwick, a nephew of Edward IV and Elizabeth, a daughter of Edward IV had better claims by descent than Henry Tudor. A reference to the Genealogical table (see appendix) will make the point clear.

Secondly, Henry preferred another claim of right, viz, the right of conquest. Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, belonged to the House of Lancaster by maternal lineage. During the wars of the Roses he was looked upon as a Lancastrian leader. In 1485 he landed in Wales at the head of an army and received a rapturous welcome from his Welsh fellow-men. Soon he won victory at Bosworth where king Richard III lost his life. His crown was picked up on the field; and after the battle it was put on Henry's head. This right of conquest was Henry's better claim, 'as the judgment of God shown in battle'.

After Henry had gained possession of the throne, he strengthened his claim and position by marrying Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, the leading heiress of the Yorkists. He wished to be the king of the whole nation, and not merely king of a party of the Lancastrians. After this marriage the Yorkists were conciliated; and the two Roses—White and Red—were united. Their heir Henry VIII was honoured by all as England's rightful king.

Thirdly, the right to the English crown must necessarily be approved by Parliament. Henry had his claim recognised by Parliament, though at some distance, and thus he was considered as a *de jure* ruler of England,

Fourthly, not content with that even, Henry got the sanction of religion to his succession when he had it confirmed by the Pope.

In fine, though Henry VII could not secure any indisputable hereditary claim to the throne, as there

were still alive in fact several persons who could show better title by lineal descent, it was on the popular will and *de facto* occupation that the Tudor claim rested.

2. DOMESTIC POLICY OF HENRY VII

Analysis :

- I. To root out all rivals and secure throne for children.
 1. Edward, Earl of Warwick imprisoned in the Tower.
 2. John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln fled.
 3. Lord Lovel, minister of Richard III, revolted, but escaped.
 4. Rising of Lambert Simnel, a pretender of Earl of Warwick.
 5. Revolt of Perkin Warbeck, a second Pretender. Hanged.
- II. To curb the nobility. His anti-feudal measures.
 1. Power of nobility already on the wane after the wars of Roses.
 2. Nobles forbidden to keep retainers. Statute of Livery and Maintenance.
 3. Court of Star Chamber established to enforce law and fine law breakers.
 4. Patronised middle-class in high posts which were previously held by nobles.
 5. Castles became useless, as king possessed cannon.
- III. To strengthen power of crown.
 1. People desired law and order, and king enforced it firmly
 2. Central administrative system strengthened. Privy Council.
 3. Growth of New Monarchy.

Problems

When Henry VII ascended the throne, England was beset with problems at home and abroad. He was a prudent and farsighted statesman. He therefore carefully watched the situation at home and carved out a few state policies to which he steadily adhered.

(1) *First*, he wanted to root out all rivals and secure the throne to himself and his family.

Henry had understood that his hereditary claims to the English crown were weak. He anticipated

difficulties. So his first care was to secure the surviving members of the house of York. Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence was at once imprisoned in the Tower. John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, who was acknowledged as his heir by Richard III, was made to submit and then fled the country.

The Yorkists had now no leaders. But they were still active in some districts in the north. They planned revolts and insurrections, greatly aided by Margaret, sister of Edward IV. The first insurrection was engineered by Lord Lovel, minister of Richard III, in 1486; but it was put down. Lovel escaped to Flanders.

Having no real Prince in whose name they could fight, the Yorkists set up an impostor in the person of Lambert Simnel. In Ireland it was given out that he was the Earl of Warwick who, it was said, had escaped from the Tower. Henry took the real Earl of Warwick from the Tower in 1487 and showed him to the Londoners and proved that the young man of Ireland namely Lambert Simnel was a cheat. Simnel was caught at Stoke and employed as a cook's assistant in the royal kitchen.

Soon after in 1492 a second pretender arose in Perkin Warbeck. He gave out that he was Richard, Duke of York. Warbeck won the support of the French king, Margaret of Burgundy and then James IV of Scotland. In 1497 Perkin landed in Cornwall. But he was captured and thrown into the Tower. There Perkin and Earl of Warwick had later made a plot to seize the Tower. They were hanged for high treason. With them the Yorkist party came to an end and Henry was relieved of plots and pretenders. The throne of England was secured for his children.

(II) *Second*, Henry's next object was to subjugate the feudal nobility who possessed vast wealth and estates and wielded the fighting force of the nation.

In earlier periods of English history the feudal nobles had dictated to the king on numerous occasions. They were overbearing and unruly. Henry had seen that these "overmighty nobles" were the greatest

menace to peace and order. For, they owned vast estates, compelled their tenants to fight for them and had maintained a large number of followers called "retainers". The latter were turbulent men, wore their lords' livery or badge and fought in their private quarrels. In their turn the lords undertook to *maintain* and support these retainers in the law courts by frightening the juries and endeavoured to save them from punishment.

With a view to check the powers of the nobles, Henry took a few direct and indirect measures against them. In the *first place*, he forbade the nobles keep liveried retainers by re-enacting Richard III's Statute of Livery and Maintenance. He rigidly enforced this Act. The system of "private soldier" disappeared, and the nobles could not indulge in private wars or rise in rebellion. Moreover, the feudal nobles could no longer put any pressure on the courts of law; their men-at-arms could not intimidate the juries. The military strength of the nobility was shattered, while the ordinary courts could be trusted once more to give justice.

Secondly, Henry struck a further blow at the nobles by creating the Court of the Star Chamber. In 1487 he enacted the "*Statute Pro Camera-Stella*." By this statute was set up a 'prerogative court', which later on came to be known as the Court of the Star Chamber.

The judges of this Court were members of the King's Privy Council viz. Chancellor, Treasurer and Privy Seal and a bishop and two chief justices. All of them were appointed by the king. A chair was set for the king in the Council, and he would occasionally sit on the bench. It had no jurors.

This court was armed with special powers which ordinary courts lacked. It was intended to try offenders whose crimes were too subtle or who were too powerful to be tried in regular assizes. It had jurisdiction over cases involving Livery and Maintenance, riots, unlawful assemblies and the misconduct of sheriffs.

In the beginning this court served a very useful purpose, and kept the turbulent nobles in order. It worked effectively. It is said that much of the quiet which was maintained during the difficult days of the Reformation was due to its effects. The richest barons now learned that they must obey the law like any other man. It could punish by fines and imprisonment, and it dealt with juries which gave unsatisfactory verdicts. The weak were thus protected against the strong.

Criticism : It is however strange that in later years the court of the Star Chamber became an engine of tyranny and an instrument of Tudor Despotism.

Thirdly, Henry followed a policy of patronising the lower and middle classes as a set-off against the nobles. He decided not to exalt any noble to any high government post. A new middle class which grew among the bishops, lawyers, merchants and shopkeepers, wanted peace and promotion of their pursuits. They looked upon the King as their patron. Henry favoured Fox, Morton, Empson and Dudley and appointed them to high posts, while the feudal nobles like Surrey, Buckingham and Howards were thrown into insignificance. In this way, the great noble houses, no longer monopolizing high offices of State and no longer exalted by intermarriage with royal sons and daughters, ceased to be a menace to the king. The king in turn emerged supreme in power.

(III) *Third*, one feature of Henry's home policy was to strengthen the authority of the crown.

He realised that the country was longing for peace, relief from anarchy and restoration of order. He also realised that order could only be kept by a strong king. The nation now supported the Tudor king who brought the wars of the Roses to a close. The people trusted their king and allowed him to rule absolutely for the sake of peace and order. Henry could now rule firmly, crush the feudal lords and strengthen the central administrative system. He appointed Privy Councillors who were dependent on him. He establi-

shed the Star Chamber Court which became a synonym for royal authority. In local government he increased the functions of the justices of the peace. Parliaments did not interfere with his powers and actions. Henry also did not seek financial help of Parliament; as he had his coffers full. In this way Henry VII became much more powerful than the earlier monarchs. This was possible because he earned the popularity of the nation. In fine, he established a "New Monarchy, which gave a strong" government and asserted authority over the nobles. The 'old' monarchy of England, greatly limited by the authority of the overmighty nobles, had yielded place to the 'new monarchy'.

The growth of authority of the Crown was further strengthened by the use of gunpowder and artillery. Gunpowder was in use from before, but during Henry's time artillery began to be efficient. As, however, the king alone possessed artillery he had an advantage in war over his rebel. It made him independent of feudal levy of men-at-arms. Moreover, he revived the militia system of the old Anglo-Saxons. Thus he was no longer in need of barons' army.

3. HENRY VII'S FINANCIAL POLICY

Analysis :

1. To hoard money
 - (a) to be independent of Parliamentary grant
 - (b) to use it in recovering throne if he were deposed.
2. His measures :
 - (1) Confiscation of lands of those who opposed.
 - (2) Forced loan.
 - (3) Benevolences or forced presents
 - (4) Fines.
 - (5) Extortions.
 - (6) Morton's Fork,
 - (7) Customs Duties
 - (8) A payment by the king of France in 1492.
 - (9) Saving from revenue.

Henry VII was shrewd and avaricious. He had realised that money was power then. The nobles were powerful as long as they had wide estates and vast

riches. So he wanted to be more rich than the nobles. But he would not amass money by taxation. For he was shrewd enough to realise that taxation was unpopular and that for taxation he would have to approach Parliament. He wanted to be independent of Parliament and yet have his coffers full. With that end in view he resorted to many devices, e.g.—

(i) Henry seized lands of those who had opposed him,

(ii) he exacted forced loans,

(iii) he revived "Benevolences" or forced presents. In theory these were pretended to be free gifts offered by wealthy subjects as a mark of goodwill or benevolence towards the king, but in reality these were forced presents; and he made the merchants pay well for the security they enjoyed,

(iv) he levied fines for breach of obsolete statutes,

(v) he empowered his financial Councillors—Empson and Dudley to extort money by invoking the feudal rights of the king,

(vi) he allowed his Lord Chancellor Morton to extort money by an ingenuous plan, which came to be known as *Morton's Fork*. He taxed both the poor and the rich by saying that if a man lived in good style he could well afford to pay to the king, and that if a man lived in poor style he was in a position to save money and therefore could pay his savings to the king. The argument cut both ways, and Morton's Fork had thus brought a large fortune to Henry VII,

(vii) he increased the customs duties, made new trade agreements and carefully tended the royal estates,

(viii) he made foreign wars pay for themselves, and thus got a heavy sum from the French King after defeating him,

(ix) besides, he exercised economy in administration and estates, and thus amassed money.

In these ways Henry VII had amassed huge sums and was independent of Parliament's sanction of

money. It may not be out of place to mention that the real reason for his gathering treasure was that he never felt quite safe on the throne. If at some time a plot or rebellion should succeed, he might have to leave England in a hurry. If ever this should happen, he meant to use his wealth in raising an army of mercenary soldiers in Europe in order to recover his throne.

4. FOREIGN POLICY OF HENRY VII

Analysis :

Survey of political and continental situation. English possessions in France lost except Calais. England of little importance in Europe. Henry VII aimed at re-establishing English reputation in Europe. Explosive situation at home and uncertainty of his position also shaped his foreign-policy.

1. General policy of peace abroad - avoidance of foreign wars.

(1) France :

War with France Henry invaded France. No fighting. Treaty in Etaples. (a) Warbeck expelled, (b) Money paid by king of France.

2. Policy of Dynastic marriages.

(2) Spain .

Italian wars with France. Henry VII wanted Spanish alliance. Royal marriage. Arthur married Catherine of Aragon. Proposed marriage of Henry, Duke of York (later Henry VIII) with Catherine. Papal dispensation.

(3) Scotland :

At first unfriendly. Henry aimed at friendship. Royal marriage. James IV and Margaret Tudor.

3. Patronage of maritime and commercial enterprises.

(4) Netherlands :

Duchess of Burgundy sheltered Warbeck. Henry stopped wool trade.

Magnus Intercursus . Trade restored.

Malus Intercourses : Unfavourable to Netherlands.

Problems and Policies

The foreign policy of Henry VII was, to a large extent, governed by his *problems at home*. The internal condition of England was disorderly. The feudal lord with retainers had usurped all powers of government ; the king's authority was limited ; law and order

remained at the mercy of the nobles ; and the king's title to the crown was disputed by the Yorkists. Insurrections were engineered in favour of pretenders. In order to meet these problems he followed a foreign policy of *peace abroad*.

There were other international problems too. A survey of the international situation at the time of Henry's accession will make it clear that only peaceful relations with the chief European princes could help England regain her prestige. Gone was the glory of Crecy and Agincourt. England had lost all her continental possessions except Calais. Ireland and Scotland were thorns by her side. England was, therefore, in need of friendship of princes of Europe. He made no endeavour to revive the old claims to the French throne. He rather manipulated foreign relation as an economic weapon. He wanted to raise the prestige of England in the eyes of the continent.

Chief features of Foreign Policy

The chief planks in the foreign policy of Henry VII were :

- (a) his avoidance of foreign wars,
- (b) his dynastic marriages, and
- (c) his patronage of maritime and commercial enterprises.

Avoidance of foreign wars : England and France

(A) Henry VII refrained in general from foreign wars. Foreign wars were costly and exhausted the resources of the country, which no longer liked wars after the battle of Bosworth. Though he avoided war, he was however involved in a short war with France. In 1488 Charles VIII of France wanted to annex Brittany and marry Anne, its heiress. Henry saw that by this marriage England would lose her chief ally of Brittany on the continent and her chance of invading France which was her historic enemy. Henry invaded France and besieged Boulogne.

But he was bought off by Charles by the Treaty of Etaples (1492). In that agreement (1) Henry, in return for a large sum (£ 1,49,020), gave up all claims

to Brittany. (2) On the other hand the French sovereign agreed not to harbour enemies of Henry VII. (3) As a result the impostor Perkin Warbeck was forced to leave France.

Policy of Dynastic Marriages

(B) Henry VII followed a policy of 'dynastic marriages',—marriages among royal houses, intended to bring great inheritances and unite realms. By this he further desired to strengthen his position and raise the prestige of England, and endeavoured to subtly pursue the traditional anti-France policy of England in the interest of 'balance of Power' in Europe.

At this time France and Spain had become much more powerful than they had been before, and were ambitious to seize territories in Italy. The result was that great alliances, dynastic and political, were formed in Europe. The French King wanted to annex some of the Italian states, specially Milan. But Ferdinand of Spain who claimed Naples and the Emperor Maximilian, who claimed authority over northern Italy and the Pope who was also terrified at the sudden emergence of France—all sought means to guard themselves against the French King. The natural enemy of France in their eyes was England. So with Henry VII they made an alliance. He joined the League of Venice. Soon there-after a marriage alliance was effected between England and Spain. Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII, was married to Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of the Spanish King. Thus the fortunes of England were entwined with those of Spain and Austria.

Within a year of his marriage Arthur died. Henry VII was however eager to continue the Spanish connections. So he gave his second son Henry (later Henry VIII) in marriage to Catherine. The marriage of a man with his brother's widow was against the law of the Church, but the Pope gave a special license or 'dispensation', allowing the union in this particular case. For the moment Henry got what he wanted most. Henry VII and Ferdinand were good friends.

The relations between England and Scotland remained cordial.

In their pursuit of anti-France policy, Henry VII and politicians of Europe wanted to bring Scotland into their league. In 1502 Henry VII married his daughter Margaret to James IV, king of Scotland, in the hope that this would detach the Scots from their old friendship with the French.

Results of Policy

The marriage alliances of Henry VII bore important fruits. England was raised to a position of great influence in Europe when Henry died. Almost the whole of Europe was leagued together against France. The Spanish marriage led to unexpected great events destined to spring from it—the breach with the Papacy, the English Reformation and the Marian persecution. From the Scottish marriage great things came at last. Just a hundred years later the great grandson of James and Margaret joined together England and Scotland under his rule.

International Relations

(C) Henry sought to promote the international welfare of his country by manipulating commercial and maritime activities. He sturdily protected commerce using every negotiation to ask for better treatment. He negotiated several treaties by which English traders might buy and sell goods in other countries.

One of the most famous of these commercial treaties was the *Intercursus Magnus* or Grand Intercourse concluded with the duke of *Burgundy* in 1496. It admitted the English goods in the Netherlands. Subsequently in 1506 he secured further concessions for English traders by another treaty which the Flemings called the *Intercursus Malus* or Bad Intercourse. For, its terms were unfavourable to Flanders. As a result the cloth industry of England received great encouragement. *Florence* agreed to a reciprocity treaty with England. An Agreement with *Denmark* allowed English vessels to fish for cod in the waters of Iceland.

Henry encouraged ship-building and concluded commercial treaties with many countries so that Englishmen could rightfully carry goods in English ships.

Ere before foreign ships used to carry English wool and brought back the commodities of Europe and the East. By a Navigation Act it was enacted that French wine and French wood were to be brought in English Ships. A strong Merchant Navy was built to foster this carrying trade.

He patronised sea-activities. Spain and Portugal were encouraging explorations in unknown lands. Henry also was not content merely to look on. He gave in 1497 pecuniary help to Bristol merchants who sailed for North America under the Venetian Captains—John Cabot and his son, Sebastian Cabot. This expedition discovered Labrador and Newfoundland. He also encouraged the efforts of English trade to break out of the medieval Mediterranean routes into the outer Atlantic. The change of trade routes meant much to England. When the Mediterranean had been the highway, England was then far off. But now the oceanic highway was at her door. It helped England to thrive. The maritime superiority of England in the centuries to come had its roots in the reign of Henry VII. He was rightly called the "Founder of the Merchant Navy of England."

5. IRISH POLICY OF HENRY VII

Analysis :

Irish lived in tribes. Loyal to tribal heads. Little English authority. English king was "Lord of Ireland."

The Pale. English rule recognised here. Governed by a Lord Deputy appointed by the king.

The whole country poor, backward and oppressed. Constant inter-tribal warfare.

Henry VII appointed Kildare (Fitzgerald) as Lord Deputy. Disloyal and supported Simnel and Warbeck. Removed for a time. Restored. Ruled till his death

Poynings sent over from England as Lord Deputy when Kildare was removed from the post, Poynings' law. Passed by Irish Parliament :

- (1) No Parliament to meet in Ireland without king's consent.
- (2) No law to be passed by Irish Parliament without king's previous consent.
- (3) Existing English law to hold good in Ireland.

Ireland in 1485 was in a deplorably backward condition. The people in general led a wild and uncivilised existence. But the most powerful Anglo-Irish families were the Fitz-Geralds and the Butlers, and the Irish families were the O' Neills. They defied the English authority in Ireland. Since the warrior Talbot no English Lord Deputy dared to offend these local aristocracy, which proclaimed the independence of their parliament during the wars of the Roses. This was accepted by Richard of York and his sons. Thus Ireland became more pro-Yorkist and anti-Lancastrian. She sheltered the Pretenders—Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck.

Poynings' Law

Henry was therefore determined to try a drastic remedy. He sent a few hundred troops and some artillery under one of his oldest servants, Edward Poynings, who became Lord Deputy there. Poynings sent Kildare as a prisoner under suspicion of treason. He beat off Warbeck's attack. Acts of his Parliament declared great offices to be held at the King's pleasure, imposed military service on the landowners, and gave royal castles to English governors.

By what is known as Poynings Act the Irish legislation was subjected to the Veto of the English Council. No Parliament was to be summoned without the consent of the king and his council; nor could it discuss any bill without the consent of the same authority. Moreover, it was enacted that the existing English law bound Ireland also. An Anglo-Irish garrison was posted in Ireland. Kildare was returned to Ireland as Deputy, when he agreed to rule by Poynings' laws. Thus Henry subdued the Yorkist tendencies of Ireland, forced her to better outward obedience and released forces in Ireland for better understanding between the two countries.

6. HENRY'S RELIGIOUS POLICY

Analysis :

England was under the fold of Christian Church. The Pope was the Head of the Church as successor to St. Peter. Claimed superiority to kings.

John Wycliffe, an English priest, 'Morning Star of Reformation' taught that 'church should give up wealth and clergy' should live on the voluntary contributions of the people. His Movement of Lollardism. A great blow to Papal authority.

Henry VII ascended the throne on disputed claims. Wanted to secure the Papal Bull to confirm his accession. The Pope also wanted to punish heretics and Lollards. Henry followed a Policy of mutual co-ordination.

Henry's accession to the throne was not undisputed. He tried to secure countenance to his claim from the Pope. So he followed a conciliatory and cautious policy towards the Church. The king himself was orthodox and devoted to the Franciscans. He was stern in suppressing the Lollards and took churchmen as his leading advisers and civil servants. This helped him to secure from the Pope a confirmation of his title as king.

The Pope excommunicated several persons who had opposed the king. Henry got the consent of the Pope to the appointment of his friends to ecclesiastical posts. The pope also agreed to the enactment of laws to remedy the abuses of the rights of Sanctuary and "Benefit of clergy."* The Pope also received support from the king who punished heretics. He enforced the collection of ecclesiastical dues. Thus the relation between the Church and Henry VII was of mutual understanding and co-ordination.

Such a policy was necessitated by circumstances. Henry VII was a man of much formal piety, scru-

*The most mischievous privilege was the immunity of clerics from civil punishments. This had been partially restrained by Henry VI, who required that clerks arrested on any criminal charge should plead their privilege at arraignment or after conviction. Henry VII ordered all clerks convicted of felony to be burned in the hand. Later, Henry VIII took away the "benefit of clergy" from murderers and felons.

pulous to observe the customs of religion and the duties it exacted from his rank. He had no conflict with the church. The church was enfeebled in its authority owing to age and no reforms, while the new growing faith of the people in Reformation or Protestantism was equally feeble owing to its immaturity. The king was too busy in his great task as 'England's Policeman' to concern himself with the Church and, the New Learning. Hence both met half way and supported each other. Churchmen figured prominent as his councillors. Cardinal Morton was a great genius who helped the king in problems of governance. Henry confiscated the property of his subjects but did not attack that of the Church.

7. CHARACTER OF HENRY VII

Analysis :

Gay, sportive and lively in early age. But cautious, cunning and circumspect with growing age. A man of business, ability and hard work. Greedy and meticulous. Lover of law and order. Wise farsighted

Henry VII was a man of character and ability. There was nothing romantic or idealistic in his character. 'Shakespeare has drawn him—Earl of Richmond—as an open-hearted young champion of Bosworth field, gambling gaily with his life. But on assuming the crown he impressed himself upon the posterity as a cautious king like his French counterpart Louis XI, moving silently about with inscrutable glance, opening his heart to no man or woman.' He was cunning and circumspect, prosaic and matter of fact. His personal loyalties were constant. He kept the advisers of his exile days in his service till their death. He was delicate and reserved and had an impressive mien. A personal interview won over the Irish rebel Kildare ; and his blend of kindness and contempt helped him to conjure enmities away.

In comparison with his predecessors Henry VII was a better king, civilised and humane. He was fond of hunting and sports, music and card-playing. But he was able, farsighted and wise enough to have a

preview of the changed circumstances. He clearly diagnosed that after Bosworth England was in need of no adventures in shining armour, but law and order, frugality in administration and above all enforcement of peace. He had the ability to take first things first.

He was a man of business too. He sat incessantly in council and checked himself the Chamber accounts. In the words of Bindoff, "Henry VII was incomparably the best businessman to sit upon the English throne." He was smooth yet firm in diplomacy. His foreign relations with Spain and Scotland were successful. He evinced interests in maritime and mercantile enterprises which later on made England great. At times he was crafty and unscrupulous, harsh and greedy of money; but he was so in the force of circumstances.

His virtues outweighed his latches. He was trusted by his people. That is why he remained popular till the end. In spite of the fact that he was wrapt in schemes of foreign intrigue and deeply worried with dangers at home, he could take some interest in the great intellectual revolution—the Revival of Letters. His tastes were literary and artistic. He was a patron of the new printing press, a lover of books and art.

8. ESTIMATE OF HENRY VII

Analysis :

Wise and able. A good statesman and administrator. Frugal in expenditure. Successful home policy to establish peace. Foreign policy of peace abroad. Encouragement to maritime activities and commerce. New Monarchy.

Statesmanship

Henry VII came to the throne of England when the country was passing through a period of transition from the old order of the Middle Ages to an era of the Modern times with immense possibilities. It behoves a statesman ruler to foresee things and steer the ship of state with ability. He was endowed with the gift

of wisdom to see what England needed at the moment and with the ability to translate the need into a reality. With the instinct of a true statesman he realised that England was in dire need of internal order, external peace and prosperity and that these three were bound together.

Critical Estimate of Home Policy

Everywhere there was disorder. Justice was impeded and juries intimidated. Nobles and their retainers disturbed neighbourly peace; and security of person and property was at their mercy. But Henry repressed disorder with a heavy hand.

The insurrections in favour of impostors were nailed down ruthlessly. As an able ruler he looked into the details of administration. He sat coolly in councils, heard cases and dispensed justice. By establishing the extra-ordinary court of Star Chamber he dealt a death-blow to the power of the nobles. In the administration he exercised economy; the public revenue was increased from £52,000 to £142,000 a year by intensive cultivation of the crown lands and collection of feudal dues, fines, benevolences, import and export duties, and past parliamentary grants. Expenditure was curtailed by pursuing a policy of peace, and gainful neutrality. Thus there was internal peace, and peace promoted prosperity.

As peace and prosperity reigned in the country, people supported their king. Henry VII in turn utilised the situation to augment his power. Traditionally, the power of the king was restricted by a Parliament, composed of a House of Lords and a House of Commons. But as the nobles became powerless after the Wars of the Roses, the king emerged most powerful; because, the House of Commons or Parliament was not as much assertive as the House of Lords.

Three other factors contributed to the development of a "strong new monarchy" which Henry set up then, viz., the want of moral enthusiasm in the clergy, the growth of wealth and industry among the middle

classes who desired most for a settled rule, and the accumulation of treasure in king's hands which made him independent of Parliament. The Tudor king soon realised his long cherished ideal of "living his own." He established a new despotism based on popularity which was beneficial to England. It was because of this strong "New Monarchy" that England could make strides to progress, opulence and greatness in the sixteenth century.

Critical Estimate of Foreign Policy

In foreign polity Henry VII showed far-sightedness. Though pressure was put on him by Spain and the Hapsburgs to make war against France, he hesitated. This was because of the international revolutions that were happening those years, and these explain that his shiftiness was justified. By his policy of 'dynastic marriages' he contracted the support and alliance of Spain and Scotland. The prestige of his house was greatly increased by these politic marital alliances. Now England had carved out a niche in European polity. Moreover, it was Henry VII who encouraged commerce and maritime activities. The seed of future greatness of England as a sea power was sown by him. In later years England became "the mistress of the Seas". It testifies to the progressive ideas and vision of Henry VII.

The achievements of Henry VII may be summed up succinctly in the words of Francis Bacon : "*Henry VII was the best of wonders, a wonder for wise men. What he minded, he compassed*". He gave England peace and prosperity, taught his subjects obedience to law and order, promoted trade and commerce and left a legacy of large treasury. He laid the foundations of the English Navy and desired enlargement of English energies over and across the surrounding seas. He also set on modern lines the machineries of financial administration and Civil Service. By following a general foreign policy of peace he made England respected on the continent.

9. HENRY VII'S REIGN CHARACTERISED :
"A PERIOD OF REMEDY AND SEED TIME :
A PERIOD OF TRANSITION"

Analysis :

Remedy of medieval evils .

1. Authority of over-mighty lords—lack of Government, checked by
 - (a) Statute of Livery and Maintenance.
 - (b) Establishment of Court of Star Chamber to enforce law and fine.
 - (c) Monopoly of gunpowder by the king.
 - (d) Encouragement of middle class in high offices.

Seed season of modernism

1. Law and Order and Peace as precursor to progress.
2. Establishment of New Monarchy.
3. Encouragement to maritime activities.
4. New learning encouraged by the Tudors.
5. Dynastic marriage and its sequels—The Reformation and Union of England and Scotland under one-common king.

Characteristics of Reign

The reign of the first of the Tudor monarchs, Henry VII stands out boldly with certain characteristics of its own. It is a continuation of the old regime, and yet it is harbinger of the New. It desired to do away with the evils of the Medieval and herald the possibilities of Modern Age. *It was a period of remedy and a period of seed-time.*

Before Bosworth England was in the grip of an all-pervading Socio-political order of Feudalism. But it had outgrown its needs and bred many evils that were the chief source of danger for the common welfare of the nation. The overgrowing power of the barons and the matrimonial alliances with them which have created so many semi-royal families were constant sources of evils against the better administration of the country. There was "lack of governance". Hence, like a true statesman, Henry wanted to remedy this evil.

Remedy of Evils

His measures were these .

First, by the Statutes of Livery and Maintenance he did away with the service of the retainers—armed liveried men, made the administration of justice

regular, when the intimidation of Courts and juries was gone and shattered the power of the barons.

Second, his inauguration of the court of Star Chamber did a great service, by enforcing the law against great barons where the ordinary justices and juries were afraid to do so. This court imposed fines and imprisonment and could punish even a great lord of the realm. It thus came to protect the weak against the strong.

Third, the call of a great baron during the Middle Ages was enough to raise formidable revolts. The over-mighty lords with yeomen and retainers became helpless when the Tudor king alone possessed gunpowder as a monopoly.

Fourth, the Tudor king favoured Middle class and not Nobles in service. This led to the decline of power of the nobles.

Fifth, there was that policy of Henry VII, called the Dynastic marriages, which married away the princes and princesses of the royal household to different nations of Europe. This obviously averted the danger of another war of the Roses. In the past nobles accumulated wealth and power through similar marriages. Henry VII followed them in royal families of Europe. It had the desired result of humbling the nobles and extolling the royal power—a new step forward indeed. It was an old policy in new form.

Thus either in battle or on the scaffold or under the new authority of the crown, the baron's power dwindled. No longer monopolising the great offices of the State, no longer exalted by inter-marriages with royal sons and daughters, the great houses ceased to be a menace to the kingdom. The nobles were not done away with by a royal fiat, but they were made innocuous. Indeed, it brought a new order in old society.

Period of Seed Time

Let us turn to the other characteristic of this reign. It was a veritable period of seed time. The sowing was to bear great fruits in the future.

First, there came the planting of the overpoweringly strong Tudor monarchy. The wars of the Roses had left the Barons exhausted, the Commons utterly discredited, and the country filled with one great longing viz. for peace. Now, peace could only be obtained by preservation of good order, and order, it seemed, could only be kept by a strong king. Hence the determination of the nation to support the crown. The Tudor monarchs were called as such 'Despots' but the 'Despotism' was then a necessity for the welfare of the country. England at the time of Henry VII was anxious for a strong rule. Henry understood it and wielded absolutism because England believed in him, trusted him and was willing that he should be absolute. They were satisfied with his policy and measures in matters domestic, foreign and economic. He was in need of Parliaments, which were few and far between. They did just what the king wanted them to do. Thus the Seed of Tudor despotism sown by Henry VII bore admirable fruits during the Tudor period—a glorious period of English history. A period of peace and order now established helped England to bear the strain of many changes and wars that followed.

In the *second* place, Henry VII's reign is said to have been a period of Transition. Everywhere during this time, the Middle Ages were slowly dying away. It was a time for great discoveries, of new inventions, of greater love of knowledge and of wider interest in man and nature.

The discovery of America by Columbus came to shift the centre of political gravity from land to sea. Hitherto, oceans seemed to be barriers between nations; henceforth they came to be great highways by which mankind came to be connected. Henry VII founded the Merchant Navy. Trade and Commerce flourished; and with them a desire to trade in distant lands occupied the minds of the people. England began to participate in the voyages of discovery of this period. The merchants of Bristol sent out

an expedition under a Venetian Captain, Sebastian Cabot. He reached the mainland of America. This was the sowing of a seed which bore fruit in the long run. England embarked upon a career of colonial and commercial expansion. The English seamen gained mastery over the seas within the next few hundred years. New sea routes were discovered. In fact the seeds of oceanic stage of trade and mercantilism were sown.

Thirdly, the Renaissance gave an impetus to England to shake off the old shackles and moorings and march on to progress and new learning. It prepared England for the religious Reformation. In Henry VII's reign the severance of the king and the Pope had not been reached; but differences had been noticed. The king told the Pope not to interfere in the cases of 'Sanctuary' in England. The Renaissance scholars of his days—Colet, Erasmus and Grocyn were spreading 'new learning,' making people more critical and ridiculing the monks. The seed that these "Oxford scholars" sowed lay in the ground germinating. It sprouted as the English Reformation. It was an event of great moment in English history.

Fourthly, the seed of the English Reformation was sown in the reign of Henry VII, when after the death of Arthur, his widow Catherine was married to Henry VIII. It was over the divorce of this Catherine by Henry VIII at a later period that England unexpectedly broke away from the authority of the Pope and forged the English Reformation.

The Marian persecution was another episode of English history which sprang from the policy of dynastic marriages of Henry VII. The marriage of Henry's daughter Margaret with James IV of Scotland was an incident which bore fruits later in 1603, when the Union of England and Scotland under one common king was effected. The course of English history under the Stuarts had assumed great changes, but the seeds lay in this marriage during the reign of Henry VII.

THE NEW LEARNING

1. RENAISSANCE IN ENGLAND

Analysis :

Renaissance in Europe. The New Learning in England.
Its character. Its introduction through Oxford Reformers and
Cambridge scholars John Colet Sir Thomas More. Erasmus.
Its difference from Italian Renaissance.

Renaissance or the Re-birth of Learning was a
momentous movement that marks the close of
medieval age and the beginning of the modern times.
It occurred towards the end of the fifteenth century.
The reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII had wit-
nessed the birth of Renaissance or the New Learning
in England. In that one word are summed up the
two startling revelations—intellectual and physical—
which revolutionised these ideas

The intellectual revelation sprang in the discovery
anew by Western Europe of classical Greek literature
and philosophy. In the middle of the fifteenth
century owing to the Turkish pressure on Constanti-
nople the Greeks dispersed and spread over to Italy
and elsewhere. They carried abroad the arts and
literature and helped the revival of Greek learning.
They excavated, as it were, the buried culture of
antiquity and stimulated in men an interest in it.
For the first time there came into the modern world
the feeling for form, the frank delight in life and the
senses, and the unrestricted employment of the
reason. Curiosity once stirred, spread. Classic Greek
revived classic Latin. The Italian Renaissance
helped growth of scholarly interest in letters and art.
From Italy it spread to other parts of Europe and
England.

The physical revelation lay in questioning the
authorities with arguments of reason and truth. The
people began to examine tradition and get at the true
spirit of things. As a result all established ideas
were in the melting pot. Science extended the
horizons of the people. They began to discuss and

doubt the doctrines of the church. All these soon led men to shake off Papal rule and bring about the Reformation.

As years rolled on and the authority of the Church and the Pope was on the decline due to criticism, the Europeans and Englishmen took interest in Greek literature and theology, even though it is paganistic and unchristian. It was humanism. It first attracted the attention of Scholars of the two great English Universities—Oxford and Cambridge.

Oxford Scholars

Some of the scholars of Oxford, namely Selling. Grocyn, Lily and Thomas Linacre left England for Italy in order to study the New Learning. On their return to England they inspired their pupils with their classical learning. As a result of the efforts of these scholars, Oxford became renowned for classical studies. The most famous scholars who greatly added to the fame of Oxford in the Renaissance movement were (1) John Colet, (2) Sir Thomas More and (3) Erasmus. They were called the Oxford Reformers or Oxford Scholars.

John Colet

John Colet was the son of a wealthy merchant of London. In his youth he was inspired by the teachings of Grocyn and so he went to Italy for higher studies. On his return he was appointed to give lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul. He gave a critical, realistic and humanistic exposition of the life and teachings of St. Paul. He valued Greek most, because by it he could unlock the treasures of the Gospels. He set aside the teachings of schoolmen. He read the literal words of the New Testament. Besides, he founded many schools, such as St. Paul's School, Grammar School and Westminster and Christ's Hospital Schools. These schools took up the cause of New Learning. His lectures were forceful, convincing and inspired, and excited his hearers to think anew and shed dogmas. The end of Scholasticism was near. Through his efforts education of the time was greatly reformed.

Sir Thomas More

Sir Thomas More (1478-1535) was another great Renaissance scholar of the early Tudor period. He was a staunch friend of Colet and Erasmus. He was a prolific writer. He, in his "Utopia" (a Greek word meaning "Nowhere") published in 1516, gave description of an imaginary island in America wherein perfect happiness prevailed. He depicted a society in which there was no Church domination and where the poor were not at the mercy of the rich. Emile Legouis calls this classic—'a true prologue of the Renaissance'. 'It opposes all the conceptions of the past. Better than any book it marks the new turning in the paths of thought'. It was greatly inspired by Plato's Republic.

Erasmus

Erasmus (1467-1536), though a Dutch, was a cosmopolitan Renaissance Scholar. He was the foremost Humanist of his age. From 1511 to 1513 he acted as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and his teachings made England famous for the Renaissance studies. In his "Praise of Folly" (*Encomium Moriae*, 1511) he attacked the medieval church and for this reason he is sometimes called the precursor of Lutheran Movement. He also published the famous "Greek Testament" in which he applied the principles of textual criticism to the New Testament. In a series of satirical dialogues—the *Adages* and the *Colloquies*—he displayed a brilliant intellect and a sparkling wit. With quip and jest he made light of the ignorance of the monks.

Cambridge Scholars

Cambridge did not lag behind, and it also took up the study of the classical learning. The most renowned scholars of Cambridge who took up the cause of literary Renaissance were Richard Croke, Thomas Smith, Gaza and Cheke, but none of these Scholars had achieved as much fame as the Oxford Scholars.

The new movement of the Renaissance was far from being bounded by the walls of Oxford or Cambridge. The silent influences of time were working

for its cause. The printing press made letters the common property of all. All valuable authors of Greece were published. For the first time men opened their eyes and saw.

English and Italian Renaissance

The English Renaissance was different from the Italian Renaissance. The latter was full of "immorality and paganism," but the former was mainly "literary and religious." The Tudor monarchs were favourably disposed towards the Renaissance. Henry VII's mother, Lady Margaret Beaufort, was a great patroness of the new movement. She founded two colleges—Christ College and St John College—and also created two professorships in the Cambridge University. Henry VII was very keen to patronize the new movement. All the great scholars of the English Renaissance of the early Tudor period, viz. Colet, More, and Linacre flourished in Henry VII's Court. Henry VIII also established eight Regius Chairs in 1540 and founded several schools and colleges for furthering the cause of New Learning.

Its Character

The Renaissance was not simply revival of learning. It was something more. Though it originated as a literary movement, it brought about changes in every sphere of life. It revolutionised men's ideas and opened their vistas. It made people bold and adventurous. They were inspired to enjoy the 'joy of living', know more about men and matters, and move about the seas. They indulged in maritime activities. The medieval ideal of self-repression was forsaken, and the modern spirit of self-assertion and individuality was indulged in. As a result the English and the Europeans crossed different seas and discovered sea-routes to the East and the West. In fact, the Renaissance had "discovered the world and the man." It was, therefore, more than discovery of the classical learning.

The new spirit also invaded the domain of Religion. Without the Renaissance, the religious movement of the sixteenth century, the Reformation—would not

have made any rapid success. The teachings of Colet, More, and Erasmus made the people conscious of the defects in medieval religion. It is said that the Renaissance scholars laid the egg which Luther, the father of the Reformation, later on hatched. With the Renaissance and the Reformation the civilisation of Europe underwent a metamorphosis. The feudal age yielded place to the modern civilisation.

2. EFFECTS OF RENAISSANCE

Analysis :

Growth of Humanism. Spread of education. Scepticism. Studies in literature and science. Renaissance, mother of Reformation. Growth of Nationalism. Development of trade and commerce. Its dark side in laxity of morals and scruples.

The Renaissance was a many-sided movement. So its effects covered almost every sphere of life. In fact the movement changed the whole fabric of civilisation of the time. Only some of the important effects of movement are enumerated here below :

First, people were attracted by the beauty and originality of classical literature, as soon as they read classics. Theology had become hackneyed and did not rip open men's minds. The outlook of the people was widened by the writings of Humanistic scholars, new discoveries, new inventions and study of new literature. The greatest contribution of the Renaissance was the birth of Humanism—a great landmark in modern civilisation.

Second, it greatly improved and encouraged education. New schools such as St. Paul's, and colleges, such as Christ's College and Queen's College were established to impart the new studies. Several new chairs were created. Besides, science, philosophy and politics which were ignored in the Middle Ages, began to be studied with zeal. Culture was freed from scholastic monopoly of the Churchmen

Third, the Renaissance was followed by a spirit of scepticism—tendency to question everything. Middle Ages were noted for blind faith and people in that period accepted everything which religion or society told them. But the Renaissance taught the people

the reasoning of Aristotle and Plato, and consequently they became very critical in their attitude.

Fourth, it enriched literature. Uptill the Middle Ages people had no idea of science and political philosophy. But the revival of the study of Plato and Aristotle and of sciences greatly enriched literature. Moreover with the growth of humanism, new novels and dramas were written.

Fifth, in religion the Renaissance prepared the people to accept the protestant form of religion. Catholic religion came to be criticised by the Renaissance scholars vigorously. Without the Renaissance the Reformation would not have such an easy victory over Catholicism. The teachings of Oxford Reformers and Humanists had paved the way for the English Reformation under the Tudors.

Sixth, the chief effect of the Renaissance was nationalism, quite distinct from Papal internationalism and the feudal system of the medieval period. After the Renaissance all the important European states such as France, Spain and England were inspired by nationalism both in their internal and external policies.

Seventh, the Renaissance also led to the development of trade and industries. The discoveries of new lands placed at the disposal of the European States immense resources which indirectly encouraged various industries. Besides, the Renaissance had made the people more materialistic and therefore they devoted most of their energies, which previously they spent in religious pursuits, to the material development.

Eighth, it led to the founding of new English colonies. The Renaissance made people bold and adventurous. Sea activity greatly developed and this later on resulted in the founding of several colonies in America and the West Indies.

Ninth, it led to increasing interest in sciences. Scholars began to discover the mysteries of Nature. Galileo and Copernicus were the products of Renaissance. With the growth of knowledge of natural sciences, England took strides towards progress.

All was not bright with the Renaissance spirit. When the hold of the church loosened, men were prone to indulge in laxity of moral standards. According to Ramsay Muir, the Renaissance had one bad effect. It made people cast off the old restraints of morality. Machiavelli's "Prince" represents the spirit of the Renaissance, wherein he says that a ruler need not be compulsorily guided by the standards of morality. Even More's "Utopia" justified the use of tricks, espionage and treachery in waging a war.

HENRY VIII

HENRY VIII, 1509-1547 (38 YEYRS)

Born 1491 ; married	1509 Katherine of Aragon	d 1536
	1532 Anne Boleyn,	executed 1536
	1536 Jane Seymour	d 1537
	1540 Anne of Cleves	divorced 1540
	1540 Katherine Howard,	executed 1542
	1543 Katherine Parr	survived

Chief Characters of the Reign

Cardinal Wolsey, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk ; Sir Thomas More ; Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Thomas Cromwell ; Robert Aske, Edward Seymour, Lord Hertford ; Henry Howard, Lord Surrey ; Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Chief Contemporary Princes

Scotland	France	Spain	Pope
James IV. d 1513	Louis XII d. 1515	Charles V	Clement VII
James V. d. 1542	Francis I d 1547	1516—56	1523—1534
Mary deposed 1567.			

When Henry VII died, his son Henry VIII became King at the age of eighteen. He ruled from 1509 till 1547. His long reign may be divided into two periods. In the first period (1509-1529) his interest lay in international rivalries between France and Spain, the Empire and the Popes and in diplomatic struggles amongst them. Wolsey was his chief adviser in the period.

The second period (1529-47) was taken up with the momentous event of English Reformation, and in this period the chief adviser was Thomas Cromwell. The connecting point between the two was the question of King's divorce of Catherine.

1. HENRY VIII'S HOME POLICY*Analysis :*

- I To increase royal authority—a continuation of policy of Henry VII.
1. Enforced law and levied fines.
2. Parliament made a tool to enforce what Henry wanted.
3. Exacted forced loans, benevolences, taxes.
4. Use of Treason Act against those who opposed.

II To further domestic peace and security.

III To encourage Royal Navy.

In his domestic policy Henry VIII carried on his father's policy of increasing the authority of the king and making all men, however great, obey the law. The defaulters were fined. He worked hard at the government of his kingdom out of his love for power. He wanted to have his own way more than anything else in the world. He was on the way to thorough-going despotism. He set up and pulled down ministers as he chose, and rarely met with any resistance to his wishes.

With that aim in view he increased the powers of the Crown with the help of a subservient parliament. He kept parliament in good humour and made it agree to what he wanted. It became a tool in his hands. Thus Parliament (1539) gave the force of law to his proclamations and thereby he was allowed to legislate. It authorised him to create new treasons (1534), to settle the succession at his sweet will and released him from the liability to pay his debt.

Towards the first half of his rule, Henry VIII's adviser Wolsey wanted the king to rule without summoning parliament or by summoning as few parliament as possible. For seven years (1515-22) he summoned no parliament at all. Again for six years (1523-29) no parliament was summoned. The later parliaments were packed by persons directly or indirectly nominated by the king and were dependent on his will. After the dissolution of monasteries the church members in the House of Lords were outnumbered by lay peers who upheld the king's wishes. But towards later period his adviser Cromwell called parliament frequently and made it agree to his measures.

In his bid to rule with a high hand and absolute royal authority he exacted forced loans called "amicable loans", levied arbitrary taxes, benevolences and confiscated church properties.

As royal authority grew the king was mad with power. He ruthlessly suppressed all who could lay claim on his throne. As he grew old he became more and more brutal. From the very beginning Henry VIII

based his power on the support of the middle classes. To win popular favour he put to death, on a charge of treason, Empson and Dudley, the agents of his father's tyranny. Sir Thomas More and Fisher were executed for denying the Act of Supremacy in 1535. The Duke of Buckingham was executed as a traitor. Lord Montague, Marquis of Exeter and Margaret, the Countess of Salisbury, were beheaded on a vague charge of treason. The earl of Surrey was executed on a charge of treason. He took care to avoid unpopularity and shifted the odium of his arbitrary acts upon his ministers whom he threw over when they were no longer of any service to him.

By his grim, crafty and authoritarian Home policy Henry VIII secured peace and security. The bogey of a civil war like the wars of the Roses was still fresh in the minds of the people who wanted a strong ruler like Henry VIII. It was for this reason that the people acceded to his tyranny.

Henry VIII had, in his early days, imbibed progressive ideas from persons who were votaries of the New Learning. He visualised that the future greatness of England lay in the seas. He encouraged ship-building and sea-faring activities of the people. He laid the foundation of the English Royal Navy. Further, he improved the design of fighting ships which could carry heavy guns.* These also heightened the popularity of Henry VIII.

2. HENRY VIII'S FOREIGN POLICY

Analysis :

Objective—to gain importance in European politics.

Policy—(First) Alliance with Spain against France, as under Henry VII.

1. Vigorous part in European warfare.
2. Marriage with Catherine of Aragon.
3. To join Holy League of Pope, Spain, Emperor and Venice against France.

*On the sides of the ships there were holes, also called 'port-holes'. Through these guns were fired. This was helpful in 'charging broadside'—a revolution in naval warfare then. This improved type of ships was responsible for the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

—(Second) Peace between England and France—Louis XII married Mary Tudor

(Third) Policy of Balance of Power .

1. War between France and Spain.
2. Both sought English alliance : England allied with Spain. Francis defeated and Spain became powerful.
3. Anglo-Spanish alliance ceased . England allied with France : Franco-Spanish rivalry continued

Relations with Scotland, Ireland and Wales.

The foreign policy of Henry VIII was directed to retrieve for England an important position in European politics after the Hundred Years' War. He met with somewhat success with Spain on his side. When Henry VIII became king in 1509, he resolved to continue his father's policy of alliance with Spain to check the growing power of France. But he wanted to pursue it in more active and vigorous style. Immediately at the moment, however, there was no opportunity to take part in European warfare.

Anglo-French War

About this time the central fact of the European situation was the rivalry between France and Spain for the possession of Italy. Italy was weak and contained a number of small disunited States, among which were the States of the Church. The French and Spanish sovereigns desired slices of Italian territory. The Pope however opposed both rulers and organised leagues to prevent them from achieving their ambitions. The League of Cambrai reduced the power of Venice. The Holy League was formed amongst the Pope, the king of Spain and the German Emperor to drive out the French from Italy. The king of Spain induced his son-in-law Henry VIII to join in a war against France (1512-13). War with France was traditional and popular. Henry also hoped to regain the lost English province of Gascony. Henry invaded France and obtained a cheap victory in the Battle of the Spurs. A treaty was made between England and France and Henry's sister Mary was married to Louis XII of France.

Anglo-Scottish clash

About this time Henry VIII had to fight the Scots as well. Though their king James IV was the brother-in-law of Henry VIII, he broke from the English alliance and renewed the traditional friendship between Scotland and France. At the battle of Flodden Field (1513) James IV was killed and the Scots were badly beaten. Peace was made soon thereafter.

Renewal of rivalry between France and Anglo-Spain

The peace after the Battle of the Spurs was short lived. In 1515 Louis XII of France died and was succeeded by his cousin Francis I. A little later Old Ferdinand of Spain died also. He was succeeded by his grandson Charles of Austria. This Charles became later the Emperor Charles V. Francis I soon became jealous of Charles. Henry VIII was there in England, and these three young princes were ambitious enough.

Francis I and Charles V were great rivals and anxious to wage war one against the other. Both of them were eager to secure the alliance of England. Francis I entertained Henry VIII at a place near Calais, later known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold. But no tangible result ensued. Charles V of Spain came over to England and secured the alliance of Henry.

The reasons that prompted Henry VIII to make Charles V his ally were—(i) firstly, Henry VIII's wife Catherine was the aunt of Charles V and (ii) secondly, Charles was ruler of the Netherlands where England had brisk commercial facilities. Now, Henry declared war upon France and revived the English claim to the French throne. In 1525 Charles V obtained a victory over Francis at Pavia and took him prisoner. This led to the great enhancement of power of Spain. Soon after Henry changed his policy and entered into an alliance with France to counteract the overwhelming power of Charles V.

Balance of Power

From a study of foreign relations during the reign of Henry VIII it is clear that Henry VIII was guided to a great extent in this matter by his minister,

Cardinal Wolsey. His policy was governed by a policy which later on came to be known as the *Policy of Balance of Power*.

Its object was to prevent any of the European powers from becoming too strong to endanger the safety of the others. So Henry VIII made alliances with either Spain or France, as circumstances demanded, with a view to preventing either of them from gaining decided preponderance of one over the other and to holding the balance even between them by throwing his weight on the weaker side for the time being. He did not believe in the theory of perpetual friendship or perpetual enmity. The chief consideration with him was the interests of England, her importance in European politics, and not the territorial gains only of England in Europe.

Towards the later period of his reign, Henry VIII had to encounter troubles from Mary, Queen of Scots. In order that the French king may not send aid to her, Henry made a treaty with the Spanish king and planned a joint Anglo-Spanish march on Paris. Henry and the French King came to terms in 1546. In the agreement Henry gained eight years' control of Boulogne.

Relations with Scotland

From the death of the Scottish King James IV at Flodden Field to the accession of James V (1528) Scotland suffered from a regency and resulting confusion. James V married a French princess and allied himself with France in her war against Spain. When Henry VIII made war on France he sought to forestall a Scottish attack on England by arousing the Protestants against the Catholics. In the battle of Solway Moss (1542) the Scots were defeated, and their king died soon after, leaving his infant daughter, Mary as the heir to the Scottish throne. Henry VIII wanted to unite the two countries by bringing about a marriage between his son Edward and Mary. But his plan failed owing to the machinations of the French party in Scotland.

Relations with Ireland

In an area called the "Pale", around the area of Dublin there grew up an English influence, but in other parts of the island, chieftains ruled in a semi-tribal manner. Most Irishmen were Catholics and as such were hostile to the Anglican Church. In Poyning's law (1494) Parliament had provided that Irish Parliament could legislate only with English consent, and that its law should be valid only upon the approval of the English king-in-council. When Henry VIII removed the incompetent Earl of Kildare with an Englishman as Deputy-Governor of Ireland, Kildare's supporters rebelled, but with no success. Henry distributed monastery lands among the Irish leaders and had himself declared king of Ireland. But he failed to conciliate the bulk of the Irish people.

Union of Wales

Henry divided Wales into thirteen counties and incorporated the whole country with England in 1536. English laws were introduced and Wales began to send members to the English Parliament.

3. WOLSEY—HIS CAREER AND POLICIES***Analysis :***

Early life : Humble parentage. Educated at Oxford—'Boy Bachelor.' Entered priesthood. Bishop of Winchester introduced him to court. Controlled commissariat in Flanders Campaign.

Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor. Cardinal, Papal Legate Role as minister of Henry VIII.

Ambition of life—to become Pope.

- Policies .**
1. Domestic : To rule without Parliament, but through the Council and the Star Chamber.
 2. Church : To reform by improving education of clergy. Founded Cardinal College
 3. Foreign : To support Charles against Francis in return for Charles's support at Rome. Later to support Francis against Charles.

Divorce Question : Commission (Wolsey and Campeggio) to try case in England. Case recalled to Rome. Delay in Divorce case causes Fall of Wolsey. Deprived of all posts. Archbishop of York

Arrested at York for treason. Died at Leicester on way to London

Career

Thomas Wolsey was born at Ipswich in 1471, The son of a well-to-do merchant. Wolsey was educated at Oxford, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the age of fifteen. He came to be known as the 'Boy Bachelor'. He was determined to get on in life. The Bishop of Winchester made him known at the Court of Henry VII.

In Henry VIII's reign his advance was rapid. He was placed in charge of Commissariat arrangements during the campaign in Flanders in 1513 and he met with success. Henry rewarded him by making him Bishop of Lincoln. In 1514 he became Archbishop of York and in the following year Lord Chancellor. Within a year or two he received from the Pope the dignity of Cardinal and the appointment of Papal legate. As Papal legate he represented the Pope in England. Thus he wielded more power than the Archbishop of Canterbury in church matters. As Lord Chancellor he was the most important secular man in the country except the king himself. In the words of the Venetian ambassador in the court of Henry VIII, Wolsey was the person who "ruled both the king and the entire kingdom."

During the next few years he obtained four other bishoprics wherefrom he received enormous revenues and became a very wealthy man. Wolsey had now reached the highest possible rank in England. In the church however, only one step higher was open to him, and that was to become the Pope himself. For many years however he kept that possibility even in view.

Policies

Wolsey was ambitious and had in view three objects :

- (i) to increase the power of the crown, as Henry VII did,
- (ii) to improve the state of the church of England ; and
- (iii) to become, if possible, pope and reform the church.

Home Policy

In his *home policy*, Wolsey was concerned with how to exalt the royal power. He preferred to rule without parliamentary interference; and parliament was also not of very great importance then, though it met every year from 1509 to 1514. During the period of his power, 1514-29, only one parliament met in 1523. He raised money for his master by means of forced loans, sweetly called 'amicable loans' and arbitrary taxes. He was in favour of ruling through the Council, a small group of nobles. He secured the punishment of those who displeased him through the Court of Star Chamber. In spite of his authoritarian methods, the Cardinal was popular with the common men, because they could reach him and put their complaints before him.

Church Policy

In his *Church policy*, Wolsey realised that the Church needed reform. He never thought of becoming a Protestant; he was entirely against the Lutherans. He thought that the evils in the Church were due to the ignorance of the clergy. Accordingly he became a patron of education. He founded a "Grammar School" at Ipswich and the Cardinal College (now Christ College) at Oxford. He wanted that the clergy should work hard and avoid corruption. Under authority of the Pope he dissolved several small and corrupt monasteries.

Foreign Policy

Wolsey was the first of English Statesmen to foresee the need of "Balance of Power" in *foreign policy*. He upheld the idea that the weaker nations of Europe should combine against an aggressive or a powerful neighbour and maintain the integrity of existing states. The chief object was to hold the balance of different powers and allow no individual power to grow to be a menace to others.

In furtherance of this policy Wolsey advised his master Henry VIII to play an active part on the Continent and prevent either Spain or France from

gaining decided preponderance, one over the other, and to hold the balance between them by throwing his weight on the weaker side for the time being. This was indeed a departure from the old traditional policy of England, which involved her into wars because of feudal and dynastic interests. Peace on the continent was found to be necessary for England's prosperity.

Italy had a number of small but disunited states, among which were the states of the Church. The French and Spanish kings desired slices of Italian territory, but the Pope opposed both rulers and organised the Holy League to prevent them from achieving their ambitions. The King of Spain induced Henry VIII to join in a war against France (1512-13) to maintain the balance of power.

About this time Wolsey came to power and he found that his master Henry VIII was in alliance with Spain and the Pope; and that England was waging war against France in order to recover the old English duchy of Guienne. Wolsey was not in favour of wasting wars for territorial gains, but desired balance of power.

In the Anglo-French wars that ensued in 1512-13 Henry won some notable battles. Then Henry had to fight the Scots as well; for the Scots renewed their traditional friendship with France. At *Flodden Field* the Scots were routed. Henry came to realise that he was being left to bear the brunt of the conflict while his allies Ferdinand and Maximilian were reaping the rewards, and so he made peace with France in 1514. Even his sister Mary was given in marriage to the French King Louis XII.

Louis XII died in 1515, and was succeeded by his cousin Francis I. A little later, old Ferdinand of Spain died also. He was succeeded by his grandson Charles of Austria. In 1519 the emperor Maximilian died. Francis and Charles were both candidates to succeed him as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. They eagerly coveted the alliance of England. Wolsey did not like to be dragged into war for these dynastic problems. He remained neutral. Francis I of France entertained Henry near Calais. But nothing came

out of it. Charles of Spain then wanted to secure the alliance of Henry. In 1612 he made an alliance with Henry and went to war against Francis. He defeated the French and became the most powerful of European sovereigns by uniting Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. So again at the advice of Wolsey who was in favour of Balance of Power, Henry withdrew from the alliance with Charles V and was drawn towards France to counteract the overwhelming power of Spain. Wolsey did not believe in perpetual friendship or perpetual enmity. His concern was the interests of England.

Everything was going on all right so far. But over the question of King Henry's divorce of his wife Catherine Wolsey had his fall. Wolsey was ambitious and aspired to become the Pope of Rome. Now when Henry prayed to the Pope to grant divorce of Catherine, Wolsey was authorised to give the verdict. Wolsey was in a dilemma. If he decided in favour of Henry VIII, Charles and Francis would not help him to become the Pope; and if he went against the wish of his master, he would lose his job. Wolsey delayed and delayed. This enraged the king. Wolsey was dismissed from all his high positions. He simply became the Archbishop of York in 1529. He had, however, many enemies at court. He was accused of high treason, and ordered to come to London. He died on his way to London (1530).

Character

Wolsey was a man of virtues and vices. He was haughty, imperious and power-loving. He liked pomp and palaces and banquet and bribe. He was a parvenu and disliked by nobles. He was more feared than loved by his people. He was perhaps the proudest prelate that ever breathed. He was a bully and had fury of temper. So when his fall came, it made no stir amongst the English people. Yet, it must be said that he was the last of the great and favoured reforming the Church and Churchmen. He brought efficiency in the administration with autocracy and astuteness. This made people tolerate

him. In fact Wolsey was a memorable minister of Henry VIII, and he is remembered for a variety of reasons.

In the first place, he marks the beginning of middle class ministers whose concern was the good of the people. The service of the lords was done away with by Henry VIII, and middle class men like him came to be employed in all important positions. Thus, while the lords always conspired against him to bring about his fall, Wolsey had endeavoured to educate middle class men and pave the way for their excellence.

Secondly, as Chancellor Wolsey elaborated civil service of England and made it efficient with his zeal and diligence. He supervised each detail of administration. He enforced law with firmness. Soon the court became a terror to the rich and a friend of the poor. As Papal Legate he brought the trial of heresy within the competency of the state. In this way, administration was highly toned up so long as it was in his hands. But some historians are of opinion that he was a 'civil servant of the old school'. He depended too much on his wit and wisdom. He had no interest in the navy and was not interested in Parliament. As a result his edifice of civil service did not survive him.

Thirdly, the Reformation of England was greatly influenced by Wolsey's position as Cardinal Chancellor. By uniting in his person the supreme authority in Church and State he had unconsciously pointed the way for his master. By centralisation of all ecclesiastical powers he only facilitated their transference to the crown.

Critical Estimate

Wolsey was a great personality of his age. The historians are divided in their opinions about him. One school has upheld that his "Balance of Power" policy in foreign relations was a new departure of that age and successful. According to Trevelyan—'In his hands the idea of the balance of power in Europe first became clearly defined as the chief object

of England's foreign policy'. Innes, however, comments: "By siding with Charles in 1521 he strengthened the hands of the Emperor." A close analysis of the foreign policy of Wolsey reveals that it was very much dominated by personal considerations—his ambition to be the Pope—and not by any national need. As a result it failed.

But it would be travesty of truth if we do not notice the qualities of a renaissance diplomat in such endeavours of his as the matrimonial alliance between Louis XII and Mary in 1514, and the alliance between England, France and Spain in 1518 to keep France under vigilance. He organised a system of couriers all over the countries in Europe.

As regards his domestic policy, the obvious results are meagre compared with the power he wielded. His reforms were transitory and left no lasting results. He left untouched the serious maladies of the church; and he did next to nothing to promote healthy relation between the state and the church. As legate, he invaded the sphere of church jurisdictions and made the bishops his puppets. As sole minister of the king he kept the council in abeyance, browbeat Parliament and remorselessly struck down his rivals. Wolsey stands upon the threshold of the modern age—the first absolutist minister. In fact, he was the first of modern statesmen with abilities, industry and vitality, with diplomatic skill and unparalleled subtlety and above all his amazing grasp of details.

4. THE DIVORCE OF CATHERINE

Analysis:

Henry wanted his marriage with Catherine declared void because of his doubts as to validity. Children died. Need of a male heir to the throne. (Real cause) Passion for Anne Boleyn.

Pope was asked to declare that the former 'dispensation was invalid. Commission to try case. Later, case recalled to Rome; Delay exasperated Henry. Archbishop Cranmer declared marriage null and void-

Henry VII married his eldest son Arthur to Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. On

Arthur's death she was married to Henry VIII (1509), five years her junior, by a special dispensation of Pope Junius II. After 17 years Henry wanted to divorce his queen Catherine for three reasons :

(i) first, the king was very anxious to have a male heir to succeed him lest there should be any trouble over succession. All the children of Henry by Catherine were dying in infancy and she was unlikely to bear any more children than the sickly girl Mary.

(ii) second, as Henry had no male heir, he began to profess that his conscience had pricked him for having entered into a marriage that was against the law of the church. The injunction of the Bible is—"Thou shalt not marry thy brother's widow". He sincerely believed that he had thus committed a sin and so God has punished him with no male issue. He wanted to rectify the mistake.

(iii) third, he became tired of Catherine as she grew old and religiously melancholy, and was in sooth, inflamed with passion for Anne Boleyn, a court beauty and one from whom he expected a male heir. But he could not marry her without "divorcing" Catherine, or rather without declaring his marriage with Catherine null and void.

In view of these circumstances Henry VIII¹ commissioned Wolsey to secure from the Pope an annulment of his marriage with Catherine. But the Pope, disliking to reverse an act of a former Pope, and not wanting to anger Catherine's powerful kinsman, Charles V of Spain, appointed a commission of two Cardinals—Wolsey and Campeggio to investigate. But before the two Cardinals had made a decision, the Pope ordered that all parties interested viz, Henry and Catherine were to appear before his court in Rome. By that time Henry's patience was exhausted. He felt that Wolsey had played him false. So Wolsey was driven from power. Henry VIII then secured in 1533 the annulment of marriage in one of his courts presided over by Archbishop Cranmer.

5. SEPARATION OF ENGLAND FROM THE CHURCH OF ROME

Analysis :

1. In later Middle Ages church was in need of reform.	
Lives of clergy : Priests lazy and evil, bishops neglected dioceses. More statesmen than leaders of religion. Friars demanded payment for services. Cardinals and Popes rolled in wealth and were wicked.	
Wealth of Church : Great wealth. Tempted lazy and unsuitable men to priesthood.	
Pope .	Head of the church. Claimed superiority to kings, Appellate authority of Pope. Simplicity lost. Not always in accord with teachings of Christ. Much crude teaching about hell and purgatory. Sale of Indulgences
Doctrines of Church.	

2 Causes of separation from Rome . (1) [Real] Abuse of Papal power. (2) [Immediate] Growth of national feelings in England. King's desire to claim authority over church. Pope's refusal to grant Henry divorce of queen Catherine

3 Separation stage by stage : (1) First, Acts of Reformation Parliament, Church compelled to accept king as Supreme Head of church. "Submission of the clergy" signed and legislative authority of Church subordinated to king.

(2) Second, Annates Act, (1532) forbade payment of annates to Pope. Peter's Pence Act. Pope's pocket affected.

(3) Third, Appeals Act (1533) forbade appeals from English courts to Rome, Recalled existing appeals. Archbishop Cranmer granted Henry, divorce.

(4) Fourth, Act of Supremacy (1534), King to be Supreme Head on earth of the church of England". Separation completed.

It has been stated that the Reformation in England in the reign of Henry VIII was *not religious, but personal and political*. So far as the personal aspect is concerned, it is directly related to the desire of Henry VIII to divorce his queen Catherine.

When the Pope showed inordinate delay in disposing of the prayer of Henry VIII for annulment of his marriage with Catherine the rage of the Tudor despot knew no bounds. He became resolved to do away with the Papal authority in England and to snap all connections with the Church of Rome. In his endeavour in this respect he was assisted and advised by his minister Thomas Cromwell. Both Henry and

Cromwell worked hand in hand to introduce the Reformation in England. They sought the aid of Parliament to sever connections with the Pope of Rome, reform the Catholic Church and obtain divorce of Catherine.

Reformation Parliament

In 1529 parliament was summoned and it sat for seven long years (1529-1536). It was later on known as the Reformation Parliament. Subsequently another Parliament was called in 1539. These two parliaments passed a series of acts which completed the Reformation in England, utterly destroyed the authority of the Pope in England and separated England from Rome.

The king had seen that for more than three centuries England was subject to the Bishop of Rome in matters ecclesiastical, and he determined to recover that authority over his subjects in religious matters. The king was not very keen to break with the Pope, as he knew the divorce itself was unpopular in England. But circumstances veered in favour of the king's desire to be the head of the Church, as the Pope's power had existed in England too long and had not been used properly. The Parliament was full of anti-papal feelings. The representatives there were priest-hating and crown-loving. With the aid of such a parliament Henry VIII passed a series of acts which, by stages, completed the breach with Rome.

Measures, in stages, that separated English Church from Pope

First Stage

In the *first stage*, Henry VIII secured the submission of the clergy to his authority by *threats*. He demonstrated that he, and not the Pope, was their real master. He heavily fined them on the ground that they had broken the Statute of Praemunire* by

*In 1353 the statute of Praemunire was passed. It forbade appeals being made to foreign courts. In 1493 it was made more harsh. It was stated that getting of processes, excommunications and bulls from Rome—the Pope—would incur the penalties of praemunire i. e. forfeiture of goods and imprisonment at the king's pleasure.

acknowledging Wolsey as the Papal Legate. The clergy was forced to acknowledge the king as the Supreme Head of the Church. They were next intimidated to sign a document known as the Submission of the Clergy, which professed not to enact any canon without the King's authority. All these measures went a long way to shatter the authority of the church, to take away its legislative powers and to expose the hollowness of Pope's authority over the king of England.

Second stage

In the *second stage* Henry VIII attacked that vulnerable point of the Church, namely, its *pocket*. Hitherto the clergy used to get large fees from probate of wills, and mortuary fees which were paid when a dead body was taken through a parish. By the Act of Probates and Mortuaries these fees were fixed. By the Pluralities Act the clergy was forbidden to hold more than one benefice and it was made obligatory that the clergy should reside within the Church. The royal authority had thus made its grip felt round the clergy. In these ways Henry VIII had consolidated his authority in England over the Church.

His next move was to pass Acts that would *sever the connection with the Pope*. In 1532 an Act of Annates was passed. Newly appointed bishops were forbidden to pay to the Pope their annates—the first year's income of a new benefice paid by the clergy to the Pope. The Peter's Pence which was contributed by the laity to the Pope was now transferred to the king. This was the first step in the separation of England from Rome. The Pope was deprived of a large revenue from England.

Third stage

In the *third stage*, Henry was ready to *do without Rome*. An Act of Appeals was passed. It forbade appeals from English ecclesiastical courts to the court of Rome, and directed that cases which had already been referred to Rome were to be recalled. All such cases were to be dealt with in the court of

the Archbishop of Canterbury. This resulted in the withdrawal of the King's case from Rome; and Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, pronounced that "Catherine was not, and never had been, Henry's lawful wife." In this way Papal jurisdiction over English ecclesiastical courts was at an end. Soon after the Pope countered this pronouncement and declared that Catherine was the lawful wife of Henry VIII.

Lastly, the King retorted with a *Royal Proclamation* that all manner of prayers, mass-books, and rubrics, where in the Bishop of Rome is named, are to be abolished. Soon after Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy in 1534. The king was declared to be Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England." It was asserted that the Bishop of Rome had no authority or jurisdiction in England. With this the separation with Rome was complete. The king had now absorbed all the ecclesiastical powers which the Pope had wielded in England. He then visited the religious houses. Soon the smaller monasteries of annual value less than £200 were suppressed, and their lands forfeited to the king. This was the last blow of the Reformation Parliament.

6. (A) THE REFORMATION : ITS CAUSES AND BEGINNING IN ENGLAND

Analysis :

The Reformation . Martin Luther starts movement

Causes of the Reformation

- (1) Political—Church a political power too. Courts of church
- (2) Economic—Wealthy Annates. Taxes. Indulgences Pluralities
- (3) Religious—Evils in church. Corruption
- (4) Cultural—Renaissance generated a spirit of enquiry.
Slow progress in England ; Desire to reform church from within Oxford Reformers

Reformation in England for political reasons

Reformation : Its character

The name "Reformation" is generally given to the religious movement of the sixteenth century which

culminated in the separation of many nations of Europe from the Church of Rome. Says Innes, 'In its essence, the Reformation was a revolt against conventions which had lost the justification of the conditions that had brought them into being and had become fetters upon intellectual and spiritual progress instead of aids to its advancement.'

The author of the movement was Martin Luther. In its essence the movement desired two things: one, the renovation of the moral life of Christendom and the other, the repudiation of claim of Pope as the Supreme Head of the Church.

Martin Luther had been preaching that there was nothing about the power of the Pope in the Bible. Those who remained faithful to the Pope were called Roman Catholics, and those who protested against the Pope like Luther were called Protestants.

Causes of the Reformation

The Reformation had its origin deep in the past. Ever since the thirteenth century the Church had been declining in morals and influence. About 1500 A.D. there were many causes for a ubiquitous feeling of revolt against the Catholic Church. These were at once political, economic and religious.

Political

Firstly, the Catholic Church during many centuries prior to the sixteenth had been both a religious body and a vast political power. It was only too natural that there would grow conflicts between the Church and the State. The Church had its own elaborate organisation within the state and its officials denied allegiance to the king. The Church officers were usually the foremost citizens of the kingdom who held large estates and participated in the conduct of government. The king frequently claimed the right to dictate their election and appointment. But the Popes insisted upon their rights in the matter. Papal interference was thought to be menace to the secular authority. So it clashed with the growing sense of national independence.

Secondly, the vast estates of the Church were exempt from taxation and outside the jurisdiction of the king. The kings pointed out that the wealth of the clergy and the needs of the state had increased along parallel lines, and so the clergy, as citizens of the state, should pay a share for maintenance of the state.

Thirdly, the Church had its own courts to try its own officers and certain kinds of cases too. From these local Church courts, appeals lay to the Roman Curia of the Pope. On the other side, the kings wanted to substitute royal courts for the Church ones, and forbade taking of appeals to Rome. It might have been needful and satisfying to have Church courts in the prior centuries when the king's authority was weak and feudal lords powerful and when the Church was the chief unifying force in Christendom. But when the feudal lords were humbled and authority of national kings emerged victorious, the king found himself face to face in clash with the Church.

Economic

The economic causes of the Reformation were many. The Catholic Church had grown so wealthy that kings even coveted her possessions; and the common people groaned under the financial tyranny of the Church. There were too many taxes. The Pope received "annates"—or "first fruits" from a bishop, simony fees i.e. sale of Church offices for money and sold "indulgence," "absolutions" and "dispensations" which were different forms of "Pardon certificates," which rich people purchased with a view to be absolved from moral crimes.

The bishops became greedy and obtained 'pluralities', that is, more than one diocese of church, resulting in degeneration and laxity of Church administration. Thus much money flowed in the Church administration; and naturally, it had its repercussion upon the common people who had to pay a number of ecclesiastical taxes in lieu of no return worth the name.

The princes of Europe and England resented the heavy drain of national resources to Rome.

Religious

The mention of political and economic causes need not belittle the strictly religious factor in the movement. All thoughtful men recognised the existence of abuses in the Catholic Church. The monks and even some of the popes had lived grossly immoral lives. They were fallen from the old pristine monastic ideals. Profligacy and corruption were rampant in every monastery.

The Lutheran teachings were infiltrating into the country. The Cambridge and Oxford scholars began to preach in favour of reform. They believed that reform could best be secured within the church.

The *immediate occasion for attack* upon the church was the sale of Indulgences by a Dominican monk, Tetzel. Martin Luther attacked this practice in his famous 'Ninety-three Theses' and led the revolt against the Papacy.

Slow progress in England

The seeds of the Reformation found fertile soil in Germany and Switzerland because of political discontent there; but England, being politically satisfied and united, responded slowly. There were many ways in which Englishmen desired church reform. Wycliffe and his followers, Lollards, taught that church should renounce wealth and clergy should live on the voluntary contribution of their people and only good men should exercise authority. Then the Oxford Reformers sought reform from within, rather than from without. Moreover, the English King Henry VIII played an active role in defence of the Church. He ordered the burning of Luther's writings in England, and wrote a pamphlet in defence of the church, which gained him the title "Defender of the Faith."

But in course of time Henry VIII wanted a divorce from his queen Catherine. The Pope would not agree to it. At this Henry, in rage, called Parlia-

ment and discarded Papal authority. The Roman Catholic creed was followed in England, but the authority of the Pope was gone. The Reformation in England was thus political and not religious, in its initial stage.

(B) THE REFORMATION : ITS EFFECTS IN ENGLAND

Analysis :

Effects :

1. Religious—A revolt against Catholic faith. Reformation of habits and modes of living of churchmen. Superstitions removed
2. Political—Extra-territorial jurisdiction of Pope gone. England shapes into a National state. Freedom to develop. England involved in Religious wars of Europe. In later age political troubles arose out of religion.
3. Economic—Stoppage of Annates, of sale of Indulgences etc, saved national money. Savings encouraged industrialisation and commerce.
4. Social—Secularisation of thought. Growth of Art and literature and Humanistic thoughts Vagabondage. Enclosures.

The Reformation in England was, to some extent, different from the Reformation movement of the continent. It was partly religious, partly political and partly personal in character. So its effects were noticed in religious, political, economic and social spheres of the people of the British isles.

Religious

The Reformation was a revolt of the people against the Catholic faith. It made the Pope and the clergy reform their habits and modes of living. The chief result of the Reformation was that morality which was divorced from the church, was once more restored to the Catholic religion. Besides, this movement led to the removal of most of the superstitions which in the Middle Ages had become part of religion. With the translation of the Bible into different languages, such as English, German, the people learnt what their true religion was, thus making it impossible for the clergy to exploit the general masses in the name of religion.

Political

(a) The greatest boon of the Reformation to England was that it relieved her from an extra-territorial authority of the Pope and thus made it easy for the English to develop a national state. Before this revolt in the Catholic religion, England was a part of Christendom and its politics and religious and social problems were closely linked with the Catholic European states. The Reformation freed England and it began to shape its own destiny independent of any control from the above. Without the breach with the Papacy, England would have hardly dared to ignore the Papal Bull which had divided all the unexplored lands into two divisions, one given to Spain and another to Portugal. Thus the Reformation gave England freedom to develop and expand.

(b) The Reformation also involved England and the European countries into war for the sake of religion. The Thirty years' war of Europe (1618—1648) was the direct outcome of the Reformation.

(c) The Reformation created many political troubles in England. In the seventeenth century religious conflict was one of the chief points at issue between the Stuart kings and their parliament.

Economic

By stopping the payment of Annates, prohibiting the sale of Indulgences and suppressing the monasteries, England saved a good deal of money which previously it used to send to Rome. In this way a large amount of money became available for England. With the savings thus effected, the country was able to pay more attention to national problems such as Industrialisation, Unemployment, Pauperism and the Navy. Without the Reformation England would not have been able to follow a national economic policy—the policy of Mercantilism.

Social

The greatest benefit of the Reformation was that it greatly secularised thought. Previously art, literature and even history were the handmaids of religion. But with the Reformation, religion lost

dominant position and the people began to think more of life in this world than of purgatory, saints and Christ. The result of this change in outlook was that religion was given its proper place in society ; and art and literature therefore took nature and human beings as their subject matter instead of events from the lives of Christ and his saints.

With the dissolution of monasteries, many of those who were previously maintained by them became homeless—thus adding to the number of "sturdy beggars". The problem of Vagabondage loomed fierce in English society. The persons who acquired church lands opened new pastures with enclosures. A great change came over to the rural areas of England, as a result. Pastures boosted up commerce and trade.

7. THOMAS CROMWELL

Analysis :

Humble Parentage. Secretary to^w Wolsey. King's chief minister for ten years, during the period of dissolution of monasteries. Appointed Vicar-General after 1535. Advised King to declare himself supreme. His measures. English Reformation and Cromwell A good Parliamentarian, Ruthless, King's Man. Wily and unscrupulous.

Death of Cromwell, Marriage of Henry with Anne of Cleves which king did not approve. Real cause of death. Executed for treason

Thomas Cromwell, who became the chief adviser of Henry VIII after the fall of Thomas More, was the son of a blacksmith of Putney. He began his career humbly. He was a lawyer and had grown rich by money-lending. He was a self-made businessman. For some years he fought as a soldier on the continent. On his return to England he became a secretary to Wolsey, whom he served well in suppressing monasteries. When Cardinal Wolsey fell from power Cromwell was still faithful to him, though others had turned against him. He entered king's service soon after. For, he was essentially a king's man at heart ; not a Cardinal's. During his early days of adventure in Italy he became familiar with Machiavelli's

teachings. He grew in him no scruple nor any ideal except making the king supreme by any means, fair or foul. He conceived a contempt for parliamentary government.

Thomas Cromwell was shrewd enough to watch the distress of King Henry VIII in getting his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Cromwell advised the king to declare himself Supreme Head of the Church, and to settle the matter for himself. In 1531 he asked the clergy to declare him Supreme Head of the Church but they declared that he was Supreme Head of the Church of England as far as the law of Christ doth allow. With this declaration in favour of Henry VIII, Cromwell got a law passed by parliament that such cases as the divorce should not be settled by the Pope, but should be dealt with in England. A court was set up under one of Henry's creatures, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who declared Henry's marriage with Catherine null and void and his union with Anne Boleyn canonical and legal. This helped Thomas Cromwell swim in the flood tide of Henry's favour; as he had found a way to settle an uneasy case which Wolsey had failed to solve,

The divorce of Catherine was a spark to Henry VIII to intensify his anti-papal measures and to trigger the English Reformation movement. Now, Pope Clement VII excommunicated Henry VIII for adultery. Cromwell screwed courage into the heart of Henry VIII and devised all means to widen the rift between England and Rome. In fact, Thomas Cromwell and Henry VIII jointly engineered the English Reformation. In 1534 Cromwell took pains over businesses of the Reformation Parliament and got it pass a law—the Act of Supremacy—which declared the king to be the only Supreme "Head on earth of the Church of England". Thus all communications with the Pope were cut off; and penalty of treason was inflicted on any one who should deny the king's ecclesiastical supremacy. It was Cromwell who brought the Church under the king.

As "Vicar General" under the Act of Supremacy Thomas Cromwell became an "ecclesiastical dictator" and devised a series of measures and contrivances to exalt the power of the king in all ecclesiastical matters.

(i) By the Annates Act the payment of first year's income of Church to the Pope was forbidden.

(ii) By the Dispensations Act payment of Peter's Pence to the Papal treasury was stopped.

(iii) By the Act of Appeals, Chancery and not the Pope was the final Church Court.

(iv) By the Act of Succession, the throne was settled on the heirs of Henry and Anne Boleyn following the declaration of Henry's first marriage as void.

(v) He forced the clergy to preach in favor of the act of Supremacy.

Then Cromwell turned to the monasteries with the full consent of the king. There were more than 600 monasteries in England. The monks had looked upon the Pope as Head of the Church, and they would not recognise the king as their Head. They were the "Pope's garrison in England." *Henry and Cromwell saw that if these were not destroyed they would be a potential danger to king's authority. On the contrary, if these were brought to an end, these rich institutions would add to the wealth of the king.

With this end in view Cromwell sent out "visitors" to submit made-to-order reports on the condition of monasteries. On review of these reports Parliament passed a law in 1536 to dissolve all the smaller monasteries—those with an income of less than £200 a year. The people grew furious at this in some parts of the country. In Lincolnshire there broke out a serious rebellion—known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. The rebels demanded that the monasteries should be restored, the 'reforming bishops' turned out and Cromwell dismissed. Instead, the rebels were put down, their leaders hanged.

*In 600 monasteries there were about 7000 monks and friars and 2000 nuns. Their net income was about £2,000,000 in modern values, and their buildings, shrines and moneyed wealth were of enormous value.

Cromwell remained unfaltered and steadfast to his aim. He now turned to the larger monasteries. These were not dissolved by a single Act of Parliament as in the case of smaller ones. In 1539 and 1540 each abbot or abbess was invited to give up his or her monastery to the king. Most of them did so. The monks and nuns left and were given pensions. Three abbots who refused to give up their monasteries were hanged and their monasteries seized. The lands and other wealth of these monasteries passed on to the king. Such was the achievement of Cromwell, the "Hammer of the Monks".

Thus far by 1540 Thomas Cromwell had made the king absolute in Church as well as in State. He had accomplished his work well. But he lost incipiently the esteem of the people. He was hard and ruthless. He was instrumental in the execution of many great men like Sir Thomas More and Montague. His dismissal was demanded by the 'pilgrims of Grace.' He was unpopular with the people, but still in the good books of the king.

In 1540, however, he lost the favour of Henry VIII. Cromwell brought from anti-papal Germany Anne of Cleves as a beautiful queen of Henry. But when she appeared, Henry was not pleased. However, the marriage took place in January 1540, and in July it was dissolved. Henry sent Cromwell to the Tower in anger. When the king's favour was withdrawn, his enemies were only too glad to attack him, and an Act of Attainder brought his career to a close in 1540. Cromwell was beheaded under king's orders.

Character

Cromwell was wily and unscrupulous. He served the king well, but was unable to read the mind of this moody king. So he lost the favour of the king in a single feat of anger, even though he made the king absolute in England. Cromwell was a good negotiator in parliamentary affairs. His method of making the king absolute was through a subservient parliament, but Wolsey's method was to make king independent

existence. Owing to establishment of inns, monasteries were less used by travellers. The invention of the printing press no longer felt the need of the monastic scribes. There dawned a psychological change in the minds of the people. With growth of security and less feudal terrorism, with growth of disgust for the corrupt way of life of abbots and with new thoughts and aspirations, the people thought they could serve God better by living holy lives than by entering a monastery. Thus many monasteries were becoming desolate day by day. It seemed that the institution of monasteries had by now outlived its utility and its exit was inevitable sooner or later.

Reasons for Suppression

But in England during the reign of Henry VIII the monasteries were dissolved for other reasons. Certain things weighed in his mind and he took steps to suppress the monasteries.

Firstly, the monasteries were the strongholds of Papal authority in England. Their existence would undermine the efforts of the king to become the head of the Church. For, the monks were not willing to recognise the king as their Head. After the Act of Supremacy (1534) had been passed, there was no justification for the existence of monasteries who owed allegiance to the Pope. So Henry VIII aimed a last blow to Pope's influence by gradually suppressing monasteries, great and small.

In this endeavour he was motivated by a *second reason* viz he wanted to enrich himself with the vast wealth of the monasteries. Henry was in need of funds for his extravagances. He thus appropriated part of the monastic properties for the benefit of the crown, and the rest he distributed as patronages to the upper classes of the laity. The nobles who accepted this were thereby committed to the new anti-Papal religious settlement in England. Henry found a pretext to justify his measures in this effect.

So his *third reason* was the existence of corruption and vices in the lives of many monks, which the king wanted to do away with. The people in general were very critical about the monks and nuns. So

when the king wanted to enforce his anti-monastic measures, they supported him generally.

Henry's Anti-Monastic Measures

Henry VIII was actuated by these diverse feelings to attack the monasteries. He was aided by his minister Thomas Cromwell, who was made his Vicar General in 1535 and authorised to visit monasteries. Cromwell proved to be the "Hammer of the monks." He appointed a commission to enquire into the state of the monasteries. The commissioners who were Cromwell's creatures gave a report which was all black.

Parliament was induced to pass an Act to abolish monasteries. The king and his minister proceeded with some caution and were wise enough not to suppress all the monasteries by one stroke of Act. So in 1536 an Act was passed for the dissolution of smaller monasteries with an annual income of less than £200, for the smaller ones were frequently full of abuses. Thus about 376 monasteries were destroyed. This measure met with serious opposition. In the north of England there was a revolt as the people there were strongly attached to the old ways. The rebels marched on a "Pilgrimage of Grace" to London to see the king, to demand the restoration of monasteries and to dismiss Cromwell. The revolt was suppressed ruthlessly and the ring-leaders executed. The property of the smaller monasteries was given to the king and their monks and nuns were moved into the larger houses.

Three years later in 1539 Henry VIII wanted to deal with the big monasteries; but a different course was pursued in this respect. The heads of some religious houses were frightened into voluntary submission; some were cajoled into making formal surrender. Three abbots of Glastonbury, Colchester and Reading refused and were indicted for treason and executed and their abbeys were forfeited to the Crown. In 1539 another Act of Parliament was passed authorizing the surrender of all the property of the remaining monastic institutions. By 1540 the whole of the monastic property passed to the Crown.

Effects

The dissolution of the monasteries had had several effects on religious, social and political life of England.

Religious: After the dissolution of monasteries Henry VIII created six new bishoprics. Some lands were set aside as endowments for these new prelates. Most of the monks and nuns who were dispossessed had been given pensions for their maintenance. The dissolution of monasteries had been a step in Henry's move to sever the connection between England and Rome. Henry's plan was to impose kingly authority over the Church but it was never to impose Protestantism on England.

But these measures of Henry encouraged the people who took their ideas from the German Reformation and Lollardism, and involuntarily drove the country towards Protestantism. The future course of religious policy of the later Tudors was largely dependent on this and other religious measures of Henry VIII. The rise of Catholicism under later monarchs was made impossible when these bulwarks of Papal Authority in England were shattered. The king's favourites and others who were enriched by grants of monastic lands supported the Reformation for fear of losing their newly acquired estates in case the Papal Authority was restored.

Social: When the monasteries were dissolved, charity to the poor was frozen. Thus many poor men were denied their subsistence. Many became beggars. The problem of pauperism increased. A large number of 'sturdy beggars' roamed about without any means of livelihood. Indirectly the people were hard hit, and the state was forced to begin a policy of poor relief.

With the dissolution of monasteries, the new purchasers of abbey lands utilised these to earn profits by enclosing the common lands and turning agricultural land into pasturage. These led to the misery on tenants, as many of the poor were deprived of their homes. Resentment against enclosures and the closing of monasteries was so great that it led to

several uprisings among the lower classes. One of the most serious of these was the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Political: The king had enriched many of his followers by distributing the monastic estates. If the king had retained these lands, the monarchy would have been much enriched, and the course of English history would have been different. But Henry did not*. A new official nobility was created and it depended upon him. These followers were ready to support the king against the Pope. The constitution of the House of Lords was largely affected, as it suffered the loss of its abbots and priors. As a result, the number of lay peers increased, and the Church lost the control of the House of Lords. Parliament became subservient to the king.

The suppression of monasteries led to risings which hit the authority of the king. The king suppressed them with thoroughness. Further, to keep the peace against further disturbances a branch of the Privy Council called the Council of the North was created and given jurisdiction over the disaffected areas.

Economic: Henry VIII used a portion of the monastic wealth in building up national defence. Ships were built, dockyards equipped and coastal defences strengthened.*

9. HENRY VIII'S RELIGIOUS POLICY

Analysis:

I, Pre-Reformation Period: Henry VIII educated for priesthood. England Catholic, and Henry also Catholic in his beliefs. Little sympathy with protestantism. Policy of non-interference in religious matters. Refuted Lutheran theology, wrote 'Defence of the Seven Sacraments,' Received from Pope title, 'Defender of the Faith.' Desired education of the clergy.

Critical Estimate of Henry's action: *Henry had been blamed for frittering away these lands. But he had good reasons for such action. Firstly, the new landowners would support, to a man, the king against the Pope. Secondly, they would oppose revival of Pope's authority in England. Thirdly, a future sovereign of England would find it difficult to undo King Henry's work in this direction. Fourthly, accumulation of all lands in king's hand would not have been liked by the people in future.

II. Reformation period (1529-35) : The Divorce Question, Henry followed policy of curbing the church. Fines, 'Submission of the clergy,' Policy of pinching pope's pocket. Forbade payment as annates, Peter's pence. Policy of Recovery of Royal Authority over church. Forbade appeals from English courts to Rome. Recalled existing appeals and referred to Archbishop of Canterbury. Archbishop granted Henry's divorce. Act of Supremacy. King held as "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England."

III. Post Reformation period (1535-47) . England out of Catholic fold, but not Protestant. Middle-of-the road policy of Henry VIII. Persecution and bloodshed, suppression of monasteries. Bible in English. Six Articles.

Henry VIII pursued no consistent policy in religious matters. His religious policies had changed as Henry VIII grew in age and experience.

The most momentous event bearing on religion during his reign was the passing of Act of Supremacy in 1534 and with it the introduction of English Reformation. His religious policy may therefore be studied under three periods. viz. (a) Pre-Reformation period, (b) Reformation period, (c) Post-Reformation period.

(A) Pre-Reformation Period

Q: Henry VIII came to the throne when the Reformation was raging in Europe. In the earlier part of his reign Henry VIII had little sympathy with the Reformation, though his early advisers were imbued with the New Learning. As a matter of fact Henry, being the second son of his father was *educated* for the *priesthood*. It was intended that he would become the Archbishop of York. But he became the king when his elder brother Arthur had died.

At the opening of his reign, the Church in England was Catholic. It meant—belief in the Seven Sacraments, the sacrifice of the Mass, and the veneration of Saints, acceptance of papal supremacy and support of monasticism and of other institutions and practices of the medieval Church. The Englishmen were, however, becoming restive and critical about the Church ceremonies and ways of living of churchmen. There the number of critics was a legion, and most of them sought reform from within.

But Henry followed a policy of non-interference in ecclesiastical matters in the beginning. In the meantime he proved himself a devoted Roman Catholic. He scented heresy in Lutheran preachings, and sought speedily to exterminate it. In 1521 he even wrote with his own royal pen a refutation of the Lutheran theology, which he called the "Defence of the Seven Sacraments". The Pope Leo conferred on him the title of "Defender of the Faith." Henry VIII also allied himself with Leo X on several occasions in the game of European politics. His chief minister and adviser for many years was Wolsey who was a Cardinal of the Roman Church. Wolsey and his master had watched the degeneration of the Church, but they desired to reform it by improving the education of the clergy, by making them work hard and live above corruption. No serious endeavour was made by Henry VIII to reform the religion ; rather, he ruled in the spirit of Henry VII.

(B) Period of Reformation (1529-35)

About 1528 there happened a strange thing which ultimately changed the relations between Rome and England. It was the Divorce Question—the question of validity of marriage of Henry VIII with Catherine, widow of his elder brother. After eighteen years of marriage Henry had one day told her queen Catherine that they had been living all those years in mortal sin and that their union was not true marriage. The queen did not agree to it. So there ensued a legal suit between the royal couple. The Pope delayed dispensation for reasons political. The protracted delay was very irritating to the impulsive king Henry VIII. He now resolved to take the matter into his own hands. It occurred to his mind that in the past several English rulers had restricted the power of the Church, and that if he had followed that policy of curbing the Church, he might compel a favourable judgment from the Pope. He was similarly advised by Thomas Cromwell.

Reformation Parliament

In 1529 Henry called a Parliament later known as the Reformation Parliament—and it existed for seven

long years. It passed a series of acts which utterly destroyed the authority of the Pope in England. In 1531 he opened a campaign against the Roman Church, frightened the English clergy to pay heavy fines for violating the statute of Praemunire by acknowledging Wolsey as the Papal legate without royal sanction. The clergy purchased pardon by paying £100,000. He then forced the clergy to acknowledge him as the Supreme Head of the Church. They were next asked to sign a document called the 'Submission of the clergy,' which forbade them enact any canon without king's authority. These measures were meant to terrorise the clergy to compel a favourable decision from the Pope.

Next, his subservient Parliament touched the pocket of the church by empowering him to stop payment of annates and Peter's Pence. It forbade any appeal to be made to the Pope and authorised him to appoint bishops without recourse to the Papacy. Still the breach with Rome was not complete.

The Act of Supremacy was next passed by parliament with conferment of the title of the "Supreme Head of the Church"; and it was made a treason to deny this title. Then Cranmer was made the Archbishop of Canterbury who obtained a royal license to convene a court where he declared the King's marriage with Catherine null and void. The Pope now decided in favour of Queen Catherine, and excommunicated Henry VIII for adultery. Practically, the judgment of Cranmer's court marked the definite schism from Rome.

It was obvious now that Henry had taken one big step in the transition of the church of England. For centuries its members had recognised the Pope as their ecclesiastical head, but henceforth they were to own the ecclesiastical headship of the king. A new church system had come into existence out of the Divorce Question. Henry wanted that every one should conform to his church system, which was free from papal control and national, as Parliament

supported it. But as it was born of a political cause and not of any desire to reform the church creed, it evoked criticism and encountered considerable opposition from the higher clergy, the monks and many intellectual leaders as well as from large numbers of the lower classes. A period of persecution followed.

(C) Post-Reformation Period (1535-1547)

Henry had led England out of the Catholic fold, but he did not become a Protestant. He had been brought up in the Catholic faith, he fully believed it and held it to the end of his life. Lutherans and other heretics thought that England was on the point of becoming Protestant. But they were mistaken. For, Henry VIII was at least partially consistent in his religious belief. No change was made in the doctrines and in the services of the church. The Church of England was the same old Church with the same bishop and priests. As a result, a peculiar situation grew. The Church of England at this time was neither papal nor protestant. His middle-of-the-road policy in ecclesiastical matters was misunderstood by the Catholic and the Protestant alike; but Henry would enforce his policy anyhow even with persecution and bloodshed.

Thus, in his zeal against the Pope, the bishops were asked to delete the Pope's name from the Prayer-book. Henry laid his violent greedy hands on the monasteries. His minister Thomas Cromwell, 'Hammer of the Monks', was thoroughgoing in suppression of monasteries which were looked upon as 'Pope's garrison in England'. He ordered that Cranmer's Bible was to be read in Churches. These were moves towards anti-papism and pro-Protestantism. But the pendulum of his policy had also swung in the opposite direction of pro-Catholicism and anti-Protestantism.

Statute of Six Articles

The Statute of Six-Articles was passed in 1539, and it retained many of the doctrines of the Romist Church. These were—

1. Belief in the doctrine of Tran-substantiation that is, change of the bread and wine of Lord's Supper (Eucharist) into the natural body and blood of Christ.
2. Celibacy of the Clergy.
3. Need of auricular (private) Confession.
4. Private Masses.
5. Observance of monastic vows.
6. Communion service of only one kind for the laity, i. e. bread without wine.

Henry was firmly resolved to see that this Statute which was definitely an assertion of Catholic doctrine and every other tenet of the Catholic faith were followed on pain of punishment for each breach. A Protestant who denied tran-substantiation was burned. On the contrary, a Catholic who denied the royal supremacy was beheaded. Thus the number of Capital Condemnations for politico-religious offences ran into thousands. The crowning instances were the executions of (a) John Fisher, the aged and saintly bishop of Rochester, (b) Sir Thomas More, the famous author of the *Utopia*, (c) the Nun of the Kent. The Pilgrimage of Grace was a popular revolt against Henry VIII's anti-monastic policy, but he suppressed it sternly.

The religious policy of Henry VIII may be briefly stated thus. Henry continued the ecclesiastical policy of his father. Personally the King, the Defender of Faith, was Catholic and the Catholic creed was followed. But as his reign spread over long thirty eight years, it was inevitable that the policy would change with changing circumstances. The king became more and more autocratic, and so a clash came with the church over questions of jurisdiction, authority and property. The quarrel however started over a personal and private issue—king's divorce of his queen Catherine—and at last a breach with the Pope transpired. The king became a 'pope in England.' His measures in the domain of religion were then all directed against the Pope, but not against the creed. The king remained a Catholic till

the end of his life. But surely and silently the measures of Henry VIII prepared the ground for the growth of Protestantism. The introduction of the Bible and the emphasis laid on reading the scriptures were definitely measures of a revolutionary import. His suppression of the study of canon law—a link with the Papacy, that of relic worship, image worship, and pardon mongering,—all holding up Catholic faith, and that of monasteries which were strongholds of Catholic faith and the distribution of Church lands to his favourites and middle class people who became all protestants—all these made the people ready for a change to Protestantism in case of Catholic Reaction. So one thread of this king's policy was at least visible. It was that Henry's actions in ecclesiastical matters were all in harmony with the general course of Tudor policy in increasing the power of the crown. That is why "Henry's was a Political Reconstruction entailing ultimately a reformed religion, while Luther's was a Religious Reformation with political consequences" (Innes).

10. HENRY VIII'S POLICY AND RELATIONS WITH IRELAND

Analysis :

Follows father's policy of ruling through nobles, 'Aristocratic Home Rule' Policy. Ninth Earl of Kildare succeeds his father as Lord Deputy. Disloyal. Put in the Tower. Died Revolt of Fitzgeralds crushed. Members of the family put to death. Lands forfeited. Surrey's Report to 'conquer and colonise' not favoured by Henry. Difficulties of communication. Henry's measures in Ireland.

Irish church separated from that of Rome. King at head of church. Irish monasteries dissolved.

Henry assumed title of 'King of Ireland.' 'Policy of two nations' abandoned. Attempt to Anglicise Ireland. Partial success.

When Henry VIII ascended the throne Gerald, Earl of Kildare, was the Deputy of the English King in Ireland. It was then being governed on the principle of 'Aristocratic Home Rule' through the Fitzgeralds. In 1513 the eighth Earl was succeeded by his son, the ninth Earl of Kildare. His enemy,

the Earl of Ormonde, complained of disorder and misgovernment which led to the deposition of the Earl of Kildare (1520). Surrey, Earl of Norfolk, the Governor of Ireland viewed the situation and reported to Henry that only an English conquest and planned colonisation could succeed and that half-measures would be useless.

Henry VIII had no inclination to conquer Ireland. His policy was more akin to his father's; that is to say, he was in favour of conciliation, enlisting the Irish nobles on the side of law and order and governing through them. The view of Surrey to govern by the sword was not followed. But the conciliatory policy of Henry VIII met with no significant success. Troubles arose oftentimes. The Deputy was twice suspended, brought to London, imprisoned and rated soundly by the king's minister, and again restored. At length Henry's patience was exhausted, Kildare was summoned a third time to London in connection with his treasonable act and lodged in the Tower where he died in 1534. The Fitzgeralds thereupon revolted; but it was crushed. The tenth Earl and the five brothers of the ninth Earl were arrested and hanged. The eleventh Earl, a boy, escaped to France. The Geraldine power came to an end.

About this time Henry VIII had separated the church of England from that of Rome which had its counterpart in Ireland. Henry introduced the same anti-papal measures in Ireland as in England. The payment of annates and Peter's pence to the Pope was forbidden, no appeals were made to Rome and in due course the king of England was declared to be the Head of the Irish church. The Irish monasteries were dissolved. The lands of Irish monasteries were distributed among Irish chieftains. But all this was not a policy. Owing to difficulties in communication English Deputies were compelled to take sides with one faction against another.

At length economy and statesmanlike enquiry induced Henry to try a wiser scheme. In 1542 he

assumed the title of "king of Ireland" after his breach with Rome. For hitherto the king of England had borne the title of Lord of Ireland, as Ireland was held as a fief from the Pope. By this change of title he emphasised that his authority was more real than that of previous kings. He now swept away the medieval policy of two nations, which had excluded the Irish from English law. He distributed titles and monastic lands to purchase loyalty and services from the Irish chieftains. The native customs were preserved and rigours of English law were relaxed.

For a few years the new plan showed fair promise. The Pale settled down into the condition of a reasonably well-ordered state. In the last years of Henry there was a 'complete disappearance of the wonted turmoil.' This policy was on the path of success. St. Leger, the trusted Deputy of Henry who piloted this policy in Ireland was confident of its success, if it had lasted for two generations. But the later history shows how it was otherwise.

11. CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF HENRY VIII

Analysis :

Character. Tall, strong, handsome. Fond of sports, music. Spoke three languages. Loved pomp, display and feasts. Proud, egoistic and authoritarian. Frivolous, cruel, brutal. Selfish.

Achievements. Able, shrewd and courageous to tackle problems. Real Ruler Thorough control over administration. Despotism but popular. Ruled without army but through Parliament.

Achieved severance with Rome. Royal authority over church restored. In foreign policy, dream of Great Britain, Wales incorporated in England. Ireland included in Kingdom. Scotland to unite with England through marriage.

Promotion of Navy and sea-power. Founder of modern England.

Henry VIII came to the throne when he was still a young man. As years grew, he unfolded his character in its various facets till he changed himself com-

pletely. He had a captivating personal appearance—tall, strong and handsome. He was fond of sports and athletic contests; he was a horseman and musician, he showed abilities in three foreign languages and theology; and he was skilled in shipbuilding. He loved display and soon scattered his father's carefully saved treasure in giving magnificent feasts and entertainments. On the other hand, he was proud, egoistic and ambitious. He proved to be frivolous and brutal in some respects. He made himself popular by his pleasant hearty manner; but as time went on, Englishmen began to find out that this outspoken king was a cruel and hard-hearted tyrant. He was neither merciful, nor logical, nor faithful, nor grateful.

Estimate of achievements

Henry VIII ruled for 38 years. During this period many momentous events had taken place, and Henry had tackled them with courage and zeal. His reign was full of problems and turmoil. The Divorce question threatened destruction of link with Rome, monasteries were dissolved. He claimed superiority over Scotland, desired union with Wales and Ireland. There came new threat from Catholic powers and consequently there grew new needs of national defence. There was a revolution in money prices which broke up society and economy. These problems were tackled by Henry VIII in the name of parliament with great shrewdness and political acumen.

In his *domestic administration*, Henry VIII worked hard at the government of his kingdom. He was a real ruler, whose own pen re-drafted many despatches. He was so thorough that he could put his finger on the weak spot in an act of parliament or a despatch. He had a shrewd eye for good servants, chose servants and trusted them; he gave them a free hand and vigorous support, but the king saw that he remained supreme for ever. In his administration he was more carried away by personal motives till in the end he became his own law, to whom all morals and counsels must bow down. Though he ruled with

tyrant's rod, he was not a despot. For, he was immensely popular. He knew what England wanted. To the last he ruled without an army and through the House of Commons. A great majority of his subjects remained loyal to him. He has been described aptly as *a king, the whole king and nothing but the king*

The vital achievement of his reign was the severance from Rome. It was an accidental outcome of the Pope's opposition to the Divorce. In his bid to destroy the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope, he was ably assisted by his minister Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer. But Henry VIII pursued his purpose with determination. With the Act of Supremacy, the foundations of the national church of England were firmly laid. It became independent of Rome ; and the medieval church was destroyed.

In *foreign policy* Henry was not a Statesman with far-sighted perceptions or ennobling idealism. But he had the vision to foresee the edifice of Great Britain. Wales was finally incorporated in England , Ireland was raised to the rank of kingdom ; and he dreamt an union of England and Scotland through marriage alliance.

In his enterprise to promote the Navy of England and maritime activities Henry VIII stands out as a modern statesman with vision and farsight. From the first he showed an ardent interest in the sea and in artillery. He founded the Royal Navy and built many new ships of War. He created Sea-power. The lead given by him in this respect was of immense help to maintain the freedom and integrity of England against the avarice of Spain in the times of his daughter Elizabeth. At his death the Navy had 53 ships, carrying over 2000 guns. He created 2 more dockyards besides Portsmouth. When the test of French invasion came in 1545, Dudley faced them under cover of heavy artillery of 1,00,000 men under arms.

In fine, Henry VIII was great and grand inspite of his selfishness and tyranny. For, he knew the art

of maintaining popularity. People were satisfied with his achievements which were no mean. Order had been restored, the fear of nobles was gone, royal government through Council and Parliament had become a reality in every corner of England and Wales, the Royal Navy had been founded, the independence of the country had been established in the face of Europe, the Church had been subordinated to the king. In a word, the foundations of modern England were laid.

EDWARD VI ANARCHY, PROTESTANT INTERLUDE

EDWARD VI, 1547—1553 (6 YEARS)
Born 1537

Chief Characters of the Reign

Lord Protector Somerset ; Lord Seymour ; John Dudley,
Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland ; Lord
Russell ; Cranmer : Ket ; Lady Jane Grey.

Chief Contemporary Princes

Scotland	France	Spain
Mary deposed 1557	Francis I. 1547	Charles V. resigned 1556.
	Henry II, d. 1559.	

1. PORTECTORATE OF SOMERSET (1547-49)

Analysis :

Edward VI minor. Council of Regency. Somerset, Lord Protector. Somerset proud and protestant, courageous but haughty.

Problems :

1. Scottish policy. Battle of Pinkie. A failure.
2. Religious policy, Changes made.
 - (a) Beginning of Doctrinal Reformation.
 - (b) Commission to pull down images.
 - (c) Repeal of Six Articles.
 - (d) Abolition of Latin mass.
 - (e) Clergy allowed to marry.
 - (f) Church service in English. First Book of Common Prayer.
 - (g) Old customs discontinued.
 - (h) Plundering of the Churches.
 - (i) Act of Uniformity.
3. Rebellions : Revolts at Devon and Cornwall, Rebellion of Ket, suppressed.

When Henry VIII died, he left three children, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, and each of them ascended the throne in turn. Henry VIII left the crown by will to Edward, his son by Jane Seymour. This new king was only nine years old. Henry VIII

had directed in his will* that during his son's minority the government should be carried on by a Council of Regency and named who would be the executors. From this council the old nobility were excluded and its members were all new men. But as the old and new opinions were equally balanced, Henry hoped that they would take no decided step, so that when his son came of age he might be free to choose a course for himself. But the men of new opinions had their own way and Henry VIII's plan was upset. Lord Hertford, uncle of the king, assumed the title of "Protector of the Realm" and later came to be called Duke of Somerset with higher rank in the peerage.

Duke of Somerset was a remarkable man. His motives were high, his impulses generous and his courage undaunted. 'He was a king and enlightened Protector'. But he was a man of little discretion and practical sense. He had no statesman-like qualities. So in spite of his abilities, his rule was a failure.

Problems

Somerset had before him a few problems : union with Scotland by royal marriage, religious and social troubles and rebellions. His Scottish policy was of no avail. Henry VIII had tried hard to secure a marriage between Edward and Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Scottish Parliament had given consent in 1543. But Somerset, impatient of delay, gathered an army and invaded Scotland. The Scots were defeated at Pinkie in 1547. But the victory of Pinkie was worse than useless. For, the Scots were enraged at the conduct of the English and gave up all thought of the marriage, and sent their little queen to be educated in France where after a time she married the French prince, Francis. Ultimately the Scottish policy of

*By the Regency Act 1536, the successor to the throne was to be, during minority in the government of his or her mother and such councillors as the king should appoint. The king appointed a Privy Council of 16 Councillors. They appointed Lord Hertford as Protector, which appointment was confirmed by the Lords.

Somerset was found to be reckless. It led to the formation of a strong alliance between France and Scotland.

Religious Policy of the Protectorate

During the period of regency the religious policy of Henry VIII was completely set aside. That king had broken ties with the Papacy, but avoided all changes in religion, that is, in doctrines. Henry composed the Regency council with two equal shades of opinion so that it would prevent protestantism or a return to Papism. But during the period of protectorate of Somerset doctrinal reformation had started. For Somerset had sympathy with Protestantism and it was allowed to make rapid strides under Edward VI.

The symbols of old faith were destroyed. (i) Commissioners were sent round the country to pull down all images of saints in churches and to deface the pictures. (ii) The Act of Six Articles was repealed. (iii) The Latin Mass was abolished, and the clergy were permitted to marry. The statute of Treason of Henry VIII was amended. (iv) It was ordered that church service was to be said in English in place of Latin. (v) In 1549 Parliament issued the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. It was ordered to be used in all churches, and, to enforce its use, an Act of Uniformity was passed. The translation was done by Archbishop Cranmer.

The reforms in religion during this period were carried out with great severity and amid much disorder. The aim of the Protector and his Parliament was to introduce Protestantism. The reverent people were disgusted. The substitution of English for the chanted Latin service, and the destruction of the ornaments brought home to the country people through their eyes and ears the change which was going on. These caused great excitement and discontent.

Revolts : In the Western Countries revolts broke out in Devon and Cornwall in 1549. The new Prayer Book caused great excitement here. The people rose

up in arms demanding the restoration of the Mass, the observance of the Six Articles, and all the time-honoured ceremonies of their fathers. The risings were however put down after fierce fighting.

Economic distress

In the eastern countries, again, there was rising ; but it was not religious. It was the enclosure of the commons that drove the people to revolt. Of late years the peasants had had a hard time. Prices had risen, owing to the base coinage issued by Henry VIII and by Edward VI's council. The labourers were in need of employment and wages, as there grew up sheep farms which required far fewer labourers than arable lands. Commons had been largely enclosed, and villagers had difficulties in grazing their pigs. Everywhere there was indignation at the conduct of the new land-owners who were greedy and would not keep to the customs of their steady-going predecessors. Exasperated by their grievances the peasantry of Norfolk rose under Ket. The Earl of Warwick was sent against the insurgents who were quelled. Many rebels fell fighting and the insurgent countries were severely punished. The enemies of Somerset blamed that he was responsible for all these. He became unpopular and was executed.

2. PROTECTORATE OF NORTHUMBERLAND (EARL OF WARWICK) 1549-53

Analysis :

Warwick was President of Council. Brave but no man of principles. Sided with extreme Protestants. Followed Somerset's protestant policy, made further changes.

- (1) Second book of Common Prayer.
- (2) Forty-two Articles of Religion.
- (3) Some Catholic bishops imprisoned.
- (4) Further plundering of Church property.
- (5) Foreign protestants allowed to preach.

Somerset fell from power in 1549. For the rest of the reign the country was ruled by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick. He made a mark when he took the opportunity of putting down Ket's rebellion to

his advantage. He and the council held that the Duke of Somerset was responsible for all these disturbances. So he was dislodged from power. After Somerset Earl of Warwick became the President of the council and later became Duke of Northumberland in 1551.

Policy

Warwick was a man of no principle, and he quickly realised that his interests lay in siding with the Protestants. In fact, his policy was a continuation of the policy of Somerset in the direction of Protestantism. During his protectorate (a) a new version of the Prayer Book was issued and called the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (1552). It differed from the first in many ways and was much more Protestant in tone (b) Forty-two Articles of Religion which embodied the new Protestant form of doctrine were issued. These articles formed the basis of the standard religious belief of the English Church. (c) Some important bishops of Catholic opinions were removed and Gardiner and Bonner were imprisoned in the Tower. (d) By an Act of Uniformity even laymen were compelled to accept the Prayer Book on penalty of extermination. It compelled Englishmen to attend Church. (e) By an Act of Parliament all images were removed from the Churches. Church lands were also seized.

Northumberland was very much apprehensive about the health of the boy-king. He became afraid that after Edward's death Mary would be the next sovereign, according to the will of Henry VIII. Her accession meant his ruin and restoration of Catholicism in England. So he attempted a bold game to set aside Mary and to place on the throne Lady Jane Grey, the grand daughter of Mary of England, the youngest sister of Henry VIII. Northumberland married his son Guilford Dudley to Lady Jane. Edward's consent was secured to this arrangement and induced the weakening king to make a will leaving the crown to Lady Jane.

Edward died in 1553 shortly after this.

3. REVIEW OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI

Analysis :

Importance of the reign from the points of view of

(a) religion—Henry's middle-course policy abandoned in favour of Protestantism. Country divided between Catholics and Protestants, Toleration, Doctrinal Reformation, Book of Common Prayer. Forty-two Articles.

(b) Economic Condition—Corruption, Extravagance, Coinage debased. High prices.

(c) General policy and modernism—Policy of Henry VIII discontinued.

Importance of Edward's reign : The reign of Edward VI, though short-lived, had been important historically. The king was minor ; and so he ruled through the Regents. But before his death Edward was gradually growing to be a ruler in true Tudor tradition. During this time, the fate of Protestantism was determined in England. Under Henry VIII the Church of England was separated from the papacy, but under Edward VI it became Protestant. He inaugurated those religious changes which Henry had not dared. Henry VIII was Catholic in his religious beliefs, but broke away from the Church of Rome on personal and political grounds. Outwardly he had leaned towards protestantism. But the forces that Henry had released in the country were more in favour of protestantism, though a solid block liked the old ways of Catholicism.

The guardians of Edward VI, however, were not in favour of any half-way house, but wanted boldly to introduce progressively the Protestant way of religion. Thus under Somerset a climate of religious toleration prevailed, when all manner of reforming propaganda fostered in men's minds an urge for protestantism. He persecuted neither Catholics nor Protestants for their religious opinions. Calvinists and Lutherans preached their doctrines freely. Hooper, Latimer and Ridley were some of the renowned men who came from the continent to preach doctrinal Reformation. Their homely sermons and pulpit oratories helped the conversion of people to Protestantism. The relaxation of the Treason Laws helped further.

The official articles of religion—statute of Six Articles—showed unmistakably Protestant influence. Cranmer's new Prayer Book in English incorporated most of the Lutheran doctrines, and was adopted in all English Churches under the Act of Uniformity. It was the beginning of the final triumph of the Prayer Book under Elizabeth. Northumberland's "Forty-two Articles of Faith" climaxed the Doctrinal Reformation. The old places of Catholic were changed to suit a new order : altars and images were abolished, former service books destroyed and stained glass windows broken. The manner and the measures of the Reformation were not liked by all and there were a few uprisings against them, but the reformers had their way, and Protestantism advanced. The people in general, however, wished for a return to the days of "good King Harry."

Religion apart, the country was at a low ebb of its economic glory. The guardians of the king were all self-seekers and lover of spoils from chantries and monasteries. The condition of England was gloomy. It was going from bad to worse. The lands of the abbeys, the property of the guilds, the bells and plate of the churches had been seized. Government was deep in debt ; the coinage had been debased and its value regulated by government. Prices rose high and goods became scarce. The church was reformed, but immortality flourished. The landowners were greedy, merchants were corrupt. The councillors were self-seekers and power-crazy.

The guardians of the minor king had no eye for the great outlines of Tudor policy, for the prospects of England's ploughlands and pastures and England's ships tossing on distant seas. The vision, the instinct and the "sixth sense of popularity" of the father of Edward VI were absent in the boy-king. The furtherance of Tudor view of polity received a setback only to be revived later in the period of Elizabeth. The harassed country looked back with regret to the rule of Henry VIII.

MARY THE CATHOLIC REACTION

MARY, 1553—1558 (5 YEARS)

Born 1516 ; married, 1554, Philip of Spain.

Chief Characters of Reign

Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester ; Bonner, Bishop of London, Renard, Ambassador of Charles V ; Cardinal Pole ; Sir Thomas Wyatt, Cranmer ; Hooper ; Ridley ; Latimer.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns.

Scotland	France	Spain
Mary, deposed 1567	Henry II d. 1559	Charles V, resigned 1556 Philip II d. 1598.

Fall of Northumberland and ascendancy of Mary :
Edward died of consumption before he was sixteen. On his deathbed Northumberland persuaded Edward to leave the throne to his protestant cousin, Lady Jane Grey. For, she was protestant, whereas his elder sister Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, was brought up a Catholic and her succession would be dangerous to religion. Northumberland wanted Lady Jane Grey to be the queen, because she was her daughter-in-law and a good pious girl, fond of reading. In that case this duke would remain in power. So when Edward died, Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane as queen. But she reigned for ten days only.

The people of England were loyal to Mary's cause and soon they reclaimed that "Lady Mary had the better title." Northumberland attempted to seize Mary. But his troops deserted him, and his plan failed. He was executed for his treason and after a time Lady Jane suffered a similar fate.

1. MARY'S RELIGIOUS POLICY AND MEASURES

Analysis :

Mary, a devout Catholic, by training and faith.

Her belief : 'the evils of England due to abandonment of Catholic faith'.

Her aim . To restore in England (1) Catholic religion.
(2) Pope's power.

- Her Steps ·
- (1) Repeal of religious laws of Edward VI.
 - (2) Spanish marriage.
 - (3) Annulment of Henry VIII's laws.
 - (4) Foreign Protestant preachers exiled.
 - (5) Six Articles restored.
 - (6) Celibacy of clergy and married priests to separate from wives.
 - (7) Use of Prayer Book forbidden.
 - (8) Latin Mass restored
 - (9) Repeal of Act of Supremacy, and re-union of the Churches of England and of Rome.
 - (10) Reginald Pole as Papal Legate.
 - (11) Persecution of Protestants.

Criticism of Religious Policy. Catholicism disliked Protestantism liked. Growth of toleration. No burning for religious belief hereafter.

Mary's rule was wedded to only one cause of her realm, namely, the cause of religion of the state. By training and faith Mary was Catholic. She was very devout and firm in her religious beliefs. She would not believe in half measures. She was strongly of opinion that all the evils of the country were "direct punishments for its apostasy", and so she gave her whole soul to an attempt to restore, not only the system of Henry VIII, but also the state of things which he had swept away. She had the reminiscence of the Reformation which was responsible for the sufferings and disgrace of her mother. She had seen the terrors and tortures of people who did not believe Catholicism during the reign of Edward VI. So her first concern was to restore Catholicism in England. She had a feeling that it was to be her mission to restore Catholicism.

About the time when Mary ascended the throne, the pendulum of opinions had swung against protestantism. In the continent there grew a movement called the Counter-Reformation to reform and revitalize the church of Rome. The people of England were dissatisfied with the attempts at reform in doctrine under Edward VI. The mass of Englishmen looked on their new queen as a daughter of "good king Harry" and welcomed her with loyalty. In fact there had set in a Catholic Reaction in England.

Her aim and steps

The objects of Mary were—to restore in England (a) the Catholic religion and (b) the Pope's power.

With a view to establish Catholicism Mary adopted a number of measures viz.,

(i) the religious laws of Edward VI were repealed; thus the new English Prayer Book was discontinued, and Catholic bishops replaced the Protestant ones.

(ii) In furtherance of her religious policy Mary married her cousin, Philip II of Spain, as the Spanish prince was an avowed champion of Catholicism. After marriage Mary launched on her religious measures.

(iii) All the ecclesiastical laws of Henry VIII which had been passed since 1529, except the one relating to the succession of Elizabeth, were annulled.

(iv) Parliament revived the Lollard statutes of Henry IV and Henry V: and the queen wanted to blot out protestantism and its supporters by using it.

(v) Parliament restored the Six Articles and re-established the Latin Mass and the celibacy of the clergy. Priests who had married were ordered to separate from their wives.

(vi) The queen dismissed Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, Cranmer and others who introduced the Doctrinal Reformation in England and instead she appointed men of her own choice and faith (e.g. Gardiner) to high ecclesiastical offices.

(vii) She cajoled the parliament to repeal the excommunication of Reginald Pole, the son of the executed countess of Salisbury, and received him as Papal Legate in England, when the Act of Supremacy was repealed at her request. The English church was thus solemnly reunited to that of Rome. The Pope absolved England of the sin of breaking with the Papacy. Thus Henry VIII's work was undone. Catholic worship was restored with the approval of the nation. But still, the revival of papal power was not very popular.

(viii) Hereafter Mary and Pole set to work to secure obedience by persecution. She wanted to

extirpate all those who held protestant views as heretics. During that era of persecution between 1555 and 1558 about 300 Protestants were said to have been burnt. The chief among them were Latimer, Ridley, Hooker, Taylor and Cranmer. This policy of persecution earned for her the name of "Bloody Mary."

In no time the Marian persecutions destroyed what popularity she had and turned public opinion once again away from the church of Rome. In fact, the misguided policy of Mary had done more disservice to the Catholic cause. The country had perceptibly swung to protestantism. In 1553 England was at heart Catholic, but in 1558 many more people were protestant.

Critical Estimate of Policy

Mary had a zeal for Catholicism. When she ascended the throne, the country was sick of persecutions during the regime of Edward VI; and it seemed that the country would again revert to the Catholic fold. The Parliament acquiesced in what the queen wanted to do with regard to her religious policy. But soon after the queen was misguided and she rode roughshod over the feelings of the people. Her persecutions and fanaticism became utterly obnoxious, and Catholicism was thoroughly discredited. Her religious policy ultimately turned out to be a failure.

Henry VII was cautious in his religious policy. The king and the Pope collaborated each other. Henry VIII was wise, but bold enough to challenge the authority of the Pope. He, therefore, followed a middle course policy, and retained Roman Catholicism but broke away from the Pope. Edward VI had Protestant leanings and his protectors followed Protestant policy with such vigour that it was disliked for excesses. The nation was in favour of conciliatory policy. That is why after Edward VI, the nation supported the Marian policy of Catholic revivalism before it became too bitter with fanaticism and persecutions. As a result it created an impression on

the nation that neither Protestantism nor Catholicism in its unqualified form was suited to the nation. The next monarch Elizabeth finally settled the religious question successfully. But it was not in the Marian way. That is a practical commentary which explains that Mary's religious policy was a failure. All her measures were, therefore, in vain.

It has been admitted by historians that Mary misread the rousing reception given her at her accession. She thought that the people were at the back of her religious policy. But in fact the nation received her warmly as daughter of 'good king Harry' and as one who would be unlike Edward VI. But when persecutions tainted her hands, the effects were different from what Mary had expected. The innocent people who were persecuted for the sake of religion became all martyrs. It purchased hatred for Mary and strengthened the cause of Protestantism more effectively than Acts of Parliament.

Hitherto Protestantism had been a wavering faith, to which people had leaned for worldly gains like property of monasteries ; but the determination of the people to enter fire rather than give up their faith demonstrated that it was an awful faith. The nation as a whole turned from the Catholic form of the Christian faith to the other viz. Protestantism. By her endeavour to stamp out Protestantism from the land, she established it all the more firmly in the hearts of the English people. In support of her persecutions Mary could refer to precedents of judicial murders and burning of heretics in the past reigns of earlier Tudor kings, but there was one difference. Mary executed men for principle and not for expediency. That is why Mary had been singled out as the only Tudor tyrant. Moreover, the persecutions of this queen had one good effect of generating a reaction against persecution and a spirit of toleration of men's religious beliefs. Henceforth the English people hated persecution for faiths. In fact, no Englishman was burned for his religion after the days of Mary.

2. CRITICAL REVIEW OF MARY'S REIGN

Analysis:

After Edward VI, Mary was received favourably by nation.

Edward's religious policy of Doctrinal Reformation reversed. Mary wanted to restore Catholicism and Pope in old glory in England. Her latter policy, though acquiesced in, began to be disliked. Ultimately her persecutions drove the nation against her religious policy which was reversed during the next rule. Protestantism gained ground.

Mary's foreign policy a failure. Loss of Calais. England an appanage of Spain under Philip II. Nationality roused. Spain hated.

Parliament asserted against her wish towards the latter part of reign. Justice tampered. Inefficient administration. But frugality practised.

Importance of the reign : The reign of Mary Tudor, though short-lived, was important historically for a variety of reasons. Mary was honest, and upright and sincere in her convictions. She believed it was her mission to restore Catholicism in England. She constantly directed her thoughts and measures towards achieving this object. But she was ill-advised in this regard. She left the traditional Tudor policy of middle course and no extremes, as followed by her father; on the contrary, she loved the extremes, even the burning of the protestants. This policy of persecution failed Mary to achieve what she desired. Seemingly there was a revival of Catholicism, but factually the country has hardened to Protestant belief. In no time after her death her religious policy was reversed. Not only that, the country was driven by her policy to fuse religion and nationality into one. Her cruelties led to the dawning of a humanitarian spirit, a feeling of toleration of faiths and a desire to do away with burning for one's belief. Her reign was decisive in the matter of English belief against Catholicism.

Mary suffered a failure in her foreign policy. The earlier Tudor kings raised the esteem of the continental powers towards England. But Mary had no such acumen. She married Philip II of Spain, and it was disliked by England. For, the people feared that by it England would be reduced to a mere dependency

of Spain. In later years of her reign, when Philip declared war against France, she joined the war; but its result was the loss of Calais. The English glory was at its nadir then. The blow to Mary was shocking, nay fatal. But the loss of Calais was a blessing in disguise for England. She lost it as a gate for English trade to the continent or as a point of attack on France. She now concentrated more on the problems which made her ultimately a mighty power. Her eyes were beginning to turn over sea; and Spain was to be her national foe: henceforth England began to grow hatred for Spain from her reign, and this enabled her to win the victory over Spain in the reign of Elizabeth.

In her relations with Parliament Mary Tudor showed a tendency to disagree with it at times. Members of Parliament were imprisoned for their conduct in the House. Customs duties, unsanctioned by Parliament, were laid on the merchandise. Forced loans were levied. In 1555 Parliament disagreed over restoring to the English Church the first-fruits (annates) and monastic properties distributed to the laity. No parliament was called for the last two years. This was unlike her father. It may therefore be said that in statecraft also Mary was a failure.

In one aspect, however, her rule had achieved a modest success. Her ministers were not as selfish as in the days of Edward VI, rather, they practised reform and retrenchment. By the end of her reign the government was purged of all extravagances that were the order of the day during the time of Northumberland.

Still, it must be said that the reign of Mary was a dark period in Tudor Age. 'Never for centuries had England been at a lower ebb. The country was not only ill-governed and disgraced in peace and in war, without arms or leaders, unity or spirit, but it was, to all intents and purposes, an appanage of the Spanish Empire.'

3. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN EUROPE AND ENGLAND

Analysis :

The counter reformation equivalent to Catholic reformation and anti-Protestantism.

- Object—(a) to reform and revitalise Catholic faith,
 (b) to meet challenge of Protestantism dogmatically, and
 (c) to regain lost ground, now under Protestant influence.

Times favourable—for (1) existence of difference of opinion amongst Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists etc.
 (2) Rise of reforming Popes and Cardinals.

Counter-Reformation movement sponsored through

- (i) The Council of Trent.
- (ii) The Society of Jesuits.
- (iii) The Inquisition.
- (iv) Philip's religious wars.

Effect in Europe : Successful partially, in Italy and Spain. Effect in England under Mary . Failure.

The Counter-Reformation

In order to understand Mary's policy of Catholic Reaction and persecution, it is necessary to be familiar with a movement which was then going on in Europe. The movement went by the name of the "Counter-Reformation" or "Catholic Reformation" and Mary's policy harmonized with this movement. The term "Counter-Reformation" does not mean 'against reformation', but "against the Reformation Movement". It was in fact an attempt at reform in the Catholic church. It was a movement by the Catholics to arrest the progress of the Reformation.

Object

This movement was launched on by the best men in the Church. Its object was to reform and revitalise it so that it could meet the challenge of the Protestant Reformation, and that large numbers of people did not leave the Church. At times it seemed that if the desertions had increased, there would in course of time be nothing left of the Roman Church.

There were many sincere Catholics in the Continent who complained of the scandals and worldliness

of the Church. They demanded sweeping reforms in discipline and a return of the clergy to a simple apostolic life. They believed that a *reformation* of the church without disturbing its organisation and dogmas could be possible ; but the Protestants preferred to put their reforms into practice by means of a revolution. This firm view of the devout Catholics at last stirred them to greater activity. This Catholic Reformation, on its religious side, was brought about by—

(a) the labours of a Church Council—The Council of Trent,

(b) the activity of a new monastic order—The Order of Jesus,

(c) the improved conditions in Papal Court—The Inquisition.

Times favourable

The times were not opportune for such a movement. The progress of protestantism in Europe set the Catholic clergy to thinking, and devising means to assail the Reformation movement. It was pointed out and preached by the Catholics that Protestantism was not infallible, for there were so many uncompromising faiths among the Lutherans, Zwinglians and Calvinists. So when one faith differed from the other, no one faith was correct, and such could not be accepted. The differences of opinions among the Protestants made people think that Roman Catholicism was perhaps the only faith on which Christians could rely.

About the thirties and forties of the sixteenth century there came into existence a group of cardinals who favoured reform, and they elected several reforming Popes. Pope Paul III appointed men to high Church offices for their virtue and learning. This policy was maintained by a series of upright and farsighted Popes, and resulted in achieving reformation of the church down to parish priests and monks.

The Council of Trent

The reforming zeal of the individual popes was further stimulated by the work of the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Even long before Luther there was

demand for effecting reformation by means of general Council. But it became all the more imperative now. A great assembly of bishops—the Council of Trent—was held at Trent at intervals from 1545 to 1563. After many initial difficulties the Council achieved a great reform and preserved the Catholic faith.

Its work was two-fold—dogmatic and reformatory. Dogmatically, it confirmed with greater emphasis and frankness the main points of Catholic theology, which were worked out by Thomas Aquinas. It declared (a) that the basis of the Christian religion was the tradition of the Church as well as the Bible, (b) that the interpretation of the Holy Scripture belonged only to the Church, and (c) that the seven sacraments were indispensable. It re-affirmed the miraculous and sacrificial character of the Lord's Supper (Mass). The Pope was recognised as the supreme interpreter of Canons. By way of reform, it condemned the sale of Church offices and indulgences, directed bishops to reside in dioceses, abandon worldly pursuits and established seminaries. The work of the Council of Trent was so laudable that it continued to be called "*The Shield of the Counter-Reformation*".

The Society of the Jesuits

In the wake of Catholic revival, new religious orders came into existence. The most important order of the time—the Society of Jesus—was founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491—1556), a Spanish nobleman. In his earlier days Loyola was a soldier, but being crippled by a wound he devoted his life to the missionary work of the Church. His order of Jesus was confirmed by the Pope. His followers, the Jesuits, were educated and disciplined.

The Society devoted itself to recovering for the Church what had been lost. It was organised on a military pattern with hierarchies, bound by utmost discipline and obedience to the superiors. The members of the society were employed in various kinds of work in order to influence men in every walk of life. Some were teachers, some were preachers, and others were missionaries. They entered in secret

and in disguise and proceeded cautiously with making converts. By their moves and manœuvres the progress of Protestantism was arrested. It was for their efforts that the Reformation movement was checkmated, nay destroyed, in Italy, Spain, France and Poland, and Catholicism conserved in Bavaria and Southern Netherlands. The Jesuit missionaries came to and converted to Christianity many in India, China and America. In fact, the Jesuits were the veritable "*Soldiers of the Counter-Reformation*," and they regained much for the Church what it had lost to the Protestants.

The Inquisition

The old ecclesiastical Court, the Inquisition, was zealously activised, especially in Italy and Spain. It exercised great powers, punished lapses in the conduct of clergymen and tortured the heretics. The Inquisition handed over the heretics to the State officer to be burned. It succeeded in Italy and Spain but not in other states like France, Netherlands and England.

The contemporary belief was that "men and women who became heretics were doomed to eternal punishment, and that it was true kindness to inflict pain in this world in order to save the heretic from an eternity of pain hereafter". The extreme form of punishment of death by burning was resorted to, so that others might remain true to Catholicism and save their souls. Truly for its terrible measures the Inquisition was called "*The sword of the Counter-Reformation*."

Religious wars of Philip II

To crown the Counter-Reformation measures, Philip II of Spain, a bigoted Catholic, came forward with more vigour to champion the cause of Papacy. He undertook the work of reconverting the revolted countries by force; and a number of religious wars was the sequel. Spain espoused the papal cause in every one of these wars.

Its effects: By the middle of the seventeenth century, the forces of the Counter-Reformation were

almost exhausted. On review of the position then it is noticed that the measures of the Counter-Reformation were successful in warding off the onslaught and progress of Protestantism, but could not supplant it. The Christian world today contains countries which are either Protestant or Catholic. Neither form of Christianity has been able to destroy the other. Dogmatically, the Catholic Church brought out explicit definitions of belief and did not tolerate differences of opinion. The individual Christian was encouraged to live a life of higher moral standard and study theology with greater zeal.

Counter-Reformation in England under Mary

About the middle of the sixteenth century the movement of Counter-Reformation was afoot in Europe. It found its way into England also during the days of Mary Tudor. She was a hardened Catholic, married the still more bigoted Spanish king Philip II and took drastic steps to impose Catholic faith on her realm. For, her religious experiences convinced her that her supreme mission was to restore the Catholic faith and the rule of the Pope to England. All her policies, domestic and foreign, were oriented by this belief. She drew inspiration from the Counter-Reformation movement of the Continent and followed similar measures in England. Even she went to the length of persecuting the heretics after the fashion of the Papal Inquisition. In those days it was the duty of the ruler to put heretics to death. The later notion of toleration in religious faith was hardly known then.

As a result of Mary's religious policy the Counter-reformation had initial successes when people disliked Edward VI's extreme protestantism; but as she indulged in similar persecutions, the Counter-Reformation movement turned public opinion once more away from the Church, and protestantism got itself entrenched in England. She was divided in belief between Catholicism and Protestantism.

ELIZABETH I

ELIZABETH I. 1558—1603 (45 YEARS)

Born 1533.

Chief Characters of the Reign

Archbishop Parker ; William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and his son Robert Cecil ; Sir Francis Walsingham ; Sir Nicholas Bacon ; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester ; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex , Lord Howard of Effingham ; Sir Francis Drake ; Sir Humphrey Gilbert ; and Sir Walter Raleigh.

Chief Contemporary Princes

Scotland	France	Spain
Mary, deposed 1567 d. 1587	Henry II d. 1559 Francis II, d 1560	Philip II 1556-98.
James VI d. 1625	Charles IX d 1574 Henry II d. 1589 Henry IV d. 1610	

✓ 1. ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH I AND HER PROBLEMS

Analysis :

I Elizabeth's claim of succession.

1. Henry VIII's Will.
2. Parliament's enactment. Support from people and Philip of Spain.

Rival claim of Mary Stuart (Queen of Scots)

1. Better lineage claim.

II. Problems at the time of accession.

(a) Condition of England deplorable. Calais lost. English Channel lost to France. Franco-Scottish alliance. Economic condition hopeless. England defenceless. Religious antagonism.

(b) Four Fears : 1. Fear of a civil war. 2. Fear of Religious war. 3. Fear of foreign invasion. 4. Fear of financial collapse.

Accession

On 17th November, 1558 Mary passed away and within a few hours, Elizabeth had been proclaimed Queen of England.

The news reached Elizabeth as she was sitting under a tree in Hatfield. The sense of responsibility which fell on her with the accession and the mysterious feeling that her preservation and her reign were the special providence of God deeply affected her and she sank on her knees in profound gratitude.

Claim to Succession

The Will of Henry VIII, as authorised by Parliament of 1534, was paramount and decided the succession in favour of Elizabeth. That Will stated that his son Edward will be his first heir ; if he died without an heir, the crown was to go to Henry's daughter Mary ; and if her line failed, to Elizabeth, and finally to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary.

The national Courts had declared both Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate. The Pope had pronounced in favour of Mary's legitimacy ; and this had heightened the claim of Mary to the throne. No Catholic, however, had declared Elizabeth legitimate. Elizabeth claimed the crown on better authority than Henry's Will. Her title rested solely on the authority of a Parliamentary enactment.

But according to the ordinary rules of inheritance, Mary, Queen of Scots, had a better title. It could be argued that no instrument whatever could confer priority on an illegitimate heir over a legitimate one ; or on a junior over a senior branch. And the situation so transpired that after Mary Tudor's death no secular authority had power to annul the marriage between Henry VIII and Catherine, and thus set aside the title of Mary Stuart.

The rival claims of Mary Stuart and Elizabeth were allowed to solve themselves in a practical fashion. These evinced keen interests among the English people and the European powers. Elizabeth was reticent over the claim of Mary Stuart. The English people had seen that Mary was actually queen of Scotland and had married the Dauphin of France, and so her accession to the English throne meant the union of England, Scotland and France

under one head. In such circumstances France would be the most powerful European power—a situation which Philip of Spain could hardly tolerate :—a situation which the people of England would also dislike, for they did not wish that England should be an appanage of France. So the parliament decided in favour of Elizabeth's succession.

State of England

The condition of England on Elizabeth's accession was very deplorable. She had no ally at this time but Spain. Calais was lost. The dominion of the English Channel fell to France, an enemy of England. Verily the French king "bestrode the realm having one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland." France was now the mistress of the Channel. The Franco-Scottish Alliance was strengthened by the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, with Francis the Dauphin. Mary was a great menace to Elizabeth. Ireland was weak with civil war, and Scotland a standing danger in the north.

The English treasury was filled with wind and deficit. The waste in Edward's reign, the restoration to the Church, in Mary's time, of lands previously confiscated by the crown, and the French war practically drained the treasury.

England was defenceless. She had no army, no fleet, nor any means of raising one. "Really" wrote Feria "This country is more fit to be dealt with sword in hand than by cajolery : for there are neither funds, nor soldiers, nor heads, nor forces." Mary's government had created social discontent which was hostile to peace and order. This government of Mary brought the country to the verge of rebellion.

To this was added an uncompromising quarrel between the Protestants, in whose memory the Marian cruelties were fresh and the Catholics who were close adherents of the Pope. Besides, the Calvinistic refugees were coming back to England with the wildest dreams of revolution in church and state. Religious strife tore the country asunder.

contrary there were Christians of different shades of opinions, like the orthodox catholics, extreme Protestants called Puritans, and moderate Protestants and Calvinists. During the last quarter of a century there had been many changes in religion. During Henry VIII his *political* Reformation overthrew papal power in England, but the doctrine was still Catholic. Under Edward VI there was an attempt to *reform doctrine* and swing to Protestantism. It was premature and unpopular. Under Mary a Reaction started in favour of Henry VIII's system and then Roman Catholicism of orthodox type. It became unpopular for its excesses.

On review Elizabeth had noticed that faith and manner of worship had been ordered anew every few years. She was in favour of steering a cautious policy so that her system might prove enduring and of making a religious settlement which would be acceptable, as far as possible, to the whole nation : and if that is not possible it may be accepted by a great majority.

Character of Elizabeth's influencing religion

The queen herself was not without religion. What she lacked was spiritual emotion. Spiritual problem did not appeal to her as to the rest of the world. She had an utter contempt for the superstition alike of the Papists and the Protestants, but she was not averse to the religion of either. Like her contemporary Henry IV of France, she looked upon religion as one of the several pawns in the game of politics. "She held in common with the ablest rulers of the age that it was foolishness to sacrifice the security of the thrones and unity of states at the altar of disputable dogma." The interest of the public order was the first interest in her mind, and to secure this she could be a papist or a protestant if need were and could deceive people by hopes of conversion or restoration of crucifix in the chapel. It was with this sense that she filled her council board with catholics and protestants alike. Her disposition and her culture made her partial to the aesthetic side of the Renaissance rather than the stern intellectual side of the Reformation. So as a

matter of taste and aesthetics the Catholic worship with all its form and ceremony suited her best.

But beyond this she did not go. Her religious policy was guided by what was most reasonable and convenient. ~~She and her advisers were guided by considerations not of creed but of politics.~~ They had realised that the repudiation of the authority of the Holy see, and the assertion of the supremacy of the sovereign in matters ecclesiastical were essential. As to creed they allowed the utmost latitude of dogmatic belief, provided that it was consistent with the supremacy of the secular sovereign, and with a moderately elastic uniformity of ritual. Neither the queen nor Cecil was willing to impose penalties or disabilities for opinions or practices which did not either tend to the anarchism of the Anabaptists or to the sacerdotalism of Rome on the one hand and one of Geneva on the other ; both were even disposed to remain in official unconsciousness of such individual transgressors as could not be conveniently ignored. She did not altogether understand why people should be burnt to death at *autos-da-fe* for being of a different religious faith. Her reign was therefore inaugurated with the end of all religious persecutions.

She moreover declared her will to meddle in no way with the conscience of her subjects. She would not enquire what was the private religious opinion or personal religion of her subjects. "There was some justification for her boast that she made no windows into men's souls. There was no liberty of worship, but there was no inquisition." Thus perfect liberty of public opinion was secured. But Elizabeth was equally emphatic in demanding for her subjects an outward conformity to the established religion—for that was the national religion.

Reason of middle course

Reckless experiments had already rendered the church impotent. Lutheran protestantism, Genevan protestantism, Zwinglianism and the Catholic Reaction had all been welcomed and found wanting. The queen resolved to have no more experiments,

Rome meant Spain and the Inquisition ; Geneva, the miseries and disorders of the reign of Edward VI ; and the country was in equal dread of both. Accordingly with the general approval of the nation Elizabeth temporised . and the arrangement she made in ecclesiastical matters was essentially of the nature of a compromise. Peace both at home and abroad was wanted to give England time to recover from the disaster of the last two reigns. The result was the settlement of 1559, by which the prayer book and the communion service were restored and episcopacy and such ancient ceremonies as were not absolutely incompatible with the new theology retained."

The religious policy of Elizabeth for sometime after her accession was one of compromise. The fears of the Catholic due to the cessation of the burning of heretics and the deliverance of the imprisoned—and the hopes of the protestants especially of the Genevan exiles were equally checked by Elizabeth's policy of religious balance. The councillors of Mary sat along Cecil, Sir Nicholas Bacon and other protestants on the council board. The queen regularly attended the Mass. Unlicensed protestant preaching and religious controversies were stopped. A Royal Proclamation ordered the existing form of worship to be observed. She said, "I will do as my father did." The Protestants startled when she negotiated with pope for recognition of her accession.

The Rev Fookes Jackson, observes : "The nation was as yet unprepared to make its Final decision in the matter of religion , it was exhausted by internal dissensions and a ruinous foreign policy."

Such a *policy of balance* was justified, indeed required by a sore political necessity. The circumstances were such that she could not with impunity alienate Philip of Spain and the Pope. Therefore she adopted a course which would feed Philip with hopes that she was not altogether past redemption and might yet come within the fold of the true faith. Philip was her only ally at this time. For on the accession of

Elizabeth, the assumption of Mary, Queen of Scots and her husband Dauphin Francis of the arms and style of English sovereign at the order of Henry II of France made no disguise of the combined help of the French and the Scots in support of their pretensions. In such a danger Philip was her only succour. For, the interests of the Spanish King and the English queen here exactly coincided. The most valuable possessions of Philip outside Spain were the Netherlands which were chafing under the foreign yoke and trying to throw it off.

It was clear if France became the mistress of England and the channel as she was of Scotland, it would be impossible to keep the Netherlands. He could not therefore allow the French king to wear on his head the crowns of the three realms, namely France, England and Scotland and thus permit England to become a part of a Valois-Stuart-Guise Empire stretching from the Alps to the farthest Hebrides. As a counterpoise to French strength he once thought of the union of England and Spain and offered Elizabeth his hand, which, however, she courteously declined. Notwithstanding that it was Philip's interest to preserve England and therefore he secured for her the allegiance of the Catholics within her realm and support of her own cause in the negotiation of Cateau.

The announcement of her accession to the Pope showed her intention of maintaining friendly relations impossible. He sharply rebuked her for her presumption in ascending the English throne, called her a bastard, ordered her to submit her claims to his tribunal, i.e., did all to intimidate the obstinate country which would not restore the churchlands nor make a desired submission to him. The Pope was answered by the Parliament in January 1570 in acknowledging the legitimacy of Elizabeth and her title to the crown.

Elizabethan Settlement

In her endeavour to settle the religious question Elizabeth adopted the following measures :

- I. In 1559 the Act of Supremacy made her "Supreme Governor" in matters ecclesiastical and temporal.
- II. The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI was ordered to be used as the service book of the English Church.
- III. By the Act of Uniformity no other form of public prayer was allowed.
- IV. The tenets of the English Church were defined in Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.
- V. A new Court called the Court of High Commission was set up to enforce obedience to the new Church system and punish all manner of ecclesiastical offences. Its powers were great.
- VI. The Act of 1554 was repeated, abolishing the papal power in England.

Such an acknowledgment implied the repudiation of the supremacy of the papacy and establishment of that of the queen. The opposition of the lesser clergy and of the Lords Spiritual was alike fruitless against the re-establishment of the royal supremacy. The "ancient jurisdiction of the crown over the Estate" ecclesiastical and spiritual, was restored, the acts which under Mary re-established the independent jurisdiction and legislation of the Church were repealed, and the clergy were called on to swear to the supremacy of the crown and to abjure all foreign authority and jurisdiction. The Bill met with much opposition in the House of Commons and needed the skilful tact of Cecil to pilot it through. The queen became the supreme "Governor" of her kingdom in all cases, spiritual as well as civil.

So the rupture with papacy became *fait-accompl* and the rupture threw Elizabeth, whether she would or no, on the support of the Protestants. This support could only be purchased by the restoration of the Prayer Book; and as Elizabeth's hands were now free by the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis (March 1559) which secured peace and postponement for a while of the war of succession, she restored the

English Prayer Book of Edward VI, but with modification to suit her Catholic subjects. The latter were indeed satisfied, that "the Prayer Book contained neither impiety nor false doctrine, and that its prayers were those to the Catholic Church altered so far as to omit the merits and intercessions of the saints." An Act of Uniformity restored at the close of April in 1559 the last Prayer Book of Edward and the clergy were to use it on pain of deprivation.

Effects

Regarded from the purely political aspect no legislation could have been more beneficial. It saved England from the tyranny of a Spanish Inquisition and of the horrors of the French wars of religion. It gave the country nearly ten years' respite from a dangerous religious controversy and enabled it to enter upon a new era of progress in almost every department of life. Pope Paul IV was furious when he heard this settlement and he would have excommunicated Elizabeth, had not Philip checked him. The reservation in the treaty of Cateau Cambresis of the claims of Mary Stuart bound him to his alliance with Elizabeth. He therefore soothed the English Catholics and pacified Rome. The Pope's death gave the queen some respite. His successor Pius IV was a man of mild temper and conciliatory disposition.

And conciliation was not altogether impossible. The alterations in the Prayer Book and her dropping of the words "Head of the Church" from the royal title left some room for agreement. She tried her best to avoid the opening of a religious strife. Her attitude to the lesser clergy—the mass of Parish priests—was very lenient, though Bishops and higher dignitaries of the Church were rigorously punished for their refusal to take the oath. Her anxiety to maintain a religious peace is evidenced by her order to the Commissioners to deal very leniently with the people refusing to take the oath and when the North became more rebellious and flouted the oath, she yet remained firm in her policy of Patience and ordered the Commissioners to suspend the proceedings.

Critical Estimate

This Policy of compromise might wear a look of a curious medley—a sort of religious chaos. But it was agreeable to the mass of the people. To them the change was too mild to be noticed. The new Prayer Book was mostly an English rendering of the old service. Even zealous Catholics found nothing positively harmful in the attendance. Sometimes both Catholics and Protestants were found to kneel on the same altar rails, the one to receive the hosts consecrated after the old usage and the other to receive the wafers consecrated after the new. Conforming people had a lurking belief that with better times the old religion with all its observances would be back again. Elizabeth tried hard to keep the people in this belief and prevented all religious bitterness by stopping controversies and by licensing Protestant preaching. The conditions of a religious strife were happily absent. The Marian priests held their peace. The Protestant preachers were not men of good morals but were greedy, violent, irreverent, irregular in their duty and consequently unpopular.

The Church might appear to be a religious chaos and an anomaly. But this anomaly was eminently suited to the times. A more vigorous religious policy of Elizabeth would have parted the nation into two warring churches and disturbed the peace of the country.

Contribution of Cecil and Parker

In her work of compromise, the queen was helped by Archbishop Parker, a man of patience and moderation like her. He was the ecclesiastical counterpart of Cecil and fulfilled every condition Elizabeth wanted in an Archbishop except that of celibacy. He had respected national authority even under Mary, and could now consistently make it respected by others. He was a disciplinarian, a scholar, a moderate man of genuine piety and irreproachable morals. He revered monarchy, loved decency and order and nothing shocked him so much as violent enthusiasm. The queen gave him full support in his work of order.

The vacancies were filled with able and learned Protestant exiles. The plunder of the Church by the noble was checked and in 1559 England seemed to have religious peace.

Change

However skilfully the Queen might mask the drift of her religious measures the religion was changed. "The old service was gone. The old bishops were gone. The royal supremacy was again restored. All connections with Rome was again broken. The repudiation of the papacy and the restoration of the Prayer Book in the teeth of the unanimous opposition of the Priesthood had established the great principle of the Reformation that the form of a nation's faith should be determined not by the clergy but by the nation itself." England ranged herself on the side of Protestantism.

Causes of Success of Religious Settlement

The religious Settlement of Queen Elizabeth was a success. Trevelyan says, "Elizabeth's religious Settlement, tempered by successive doses of toleration, has held a permanent place in the institution and still more in the spirit of modern England." On the contrary the religious reforms of her predecessors were not successful. The reasons are not far to seek.

In the *first place*, the secret of success is to be sought in the *character of the queen* herself. In fact, the religious settlement of Elizabeth was greatly influenced by her character and genius. She had a many-sided character. She was disciplined in her emotions, and possessed of caution and dissemblance. She preferred the moderate course in many of her decisions. In religious matters also she was fond of a middle course policy, born of experience and aversion to extremes. She was neither bigoted nor religious. She had no set religious dogmas when she ascended the throne. She loathed the obscurantism of the Catholics and the newfangledness of the Protestants. She was more of a politician in solving the religious discontent of her time. Her primary aim was to govern England having people's

good always in view. To her it appeared wise that the religious question should be subordinated to the interests of state. Moreover, she tackled the religious problems with womanly wariness, timidity and pertinacity. She did not believe in the speculations of theologians which were, according to her, "ropes of sand or Sea-lime leading to the moon." By temperament she was secular, and as a child of the renaissance culture she had an open mind and cosmopolitan views, and cherished no desire to persecute anyone. As a result she supported Protestantism out of necessity and abhorred Catholicism in the interest of self-existence.

But her predecessors were unlike her. The Lord Protectors of Edward VI and Mary Tudor had oriented their political measures according to their religious beliefs. They were bigoted therefore ; but Elizabeth was not. Her predecessors had recourse to excesses of persecution to enforce their own religious views upon the land, but Elizabeth I did not persecute anybody for religious views, Her persecutions were directed to recalcitrant persons when they had gone against the interests of the state,

In the *second place*, the times had changed when Elizabeth ascended the throne, and so the task of Elizabeth was comparatively easier. The Protestant party had emerged stronger after Mary's persecution, and the Catholic weaker. The more the Bible was read, the more the people understood religion by "private judgment" and the more they did not agree with many points which the "authority" of Pope explained. Moreover, the times had long advanced since the days of Henry VIII. The people had, under peculiar circumstances, somehow tolerated a dualism in his days—that is, professed Catholicism and yet defied the Pope. But Elizabeth had observed that her success depended on the support of either the Protestants or the Catholics. As however the Catholic cause had weakened owing to the belief that it was a foreign cause,—the cause of Philip of Spain and of Mary, Queen of Scots, the wife of a French prince, —she leaned towards Protestantism.

In the *third place*, the people had seen many changes since 1532 in their ecclesiastical practices. So the change which Elizabeth I had introduced was taken at ease by the people. The extreme policies in the days of Edward VI and Mary had terrified the people, but as the religious Settlement of Elizabeth was pliable and cautious, it was liked by the majority.

Lastly, the long reign of Elizabeth was responsible, to a great extent, for the 'success of the settlement. She reigned for fortyfive years with great success and prosperity. The success of the settlement was bound up with the success of the reign. This was not the case with Henry VIII or Edward VI or Mary. They had very little time to preserve what they had imposed on the land.

3. QUEEN ELIZABETH'S FOREIGN POLICY

Analysis :

General Characteristics :

1. Practical objective and changing.
2. Policy of drifting—to avoid definite alliances.
3. Play off France against Spain and *vice versa*.
4. To postpone war with Spain as long as possible.
5. Policy of peace.

Elizabeth had many a trouble in her relations with foreign powers. When she ascended the throne, she had no friends among the powers of Europe. There were two great rivals in Europe then—viz, France and Spain. Scotland in the north was unfriendly to England. Elizabeth's title to the crown was disputed. So she was ever in suspense of losing the throne through the alliance of any two formidable powers of Europe. Mary, Queen of Scots, was making designs to capture the English throne. At times it seemed that either France or Spain would invade England. In the midst of these fears Elizabeth was called upon to steer the ship of diplomacy. She did it ably by objectively reading each situation with a rare political instinct and sagacity, all her own. Her policies changed from one situation to another.

A. ELIZABETH IN RELATIONS WITH FRANCE

Analysis :

A. Relations with France :

War between France and Spain, and England as appanage to Spain. Francis II of France supported her wife, Mary Stuart Elizabeth supported Huguenots of France against Catholics by way of retaliation. Spain became powerful when Alva defeated Netherlands. Negotiations of marriage between a French prince and Elizabeth. Artful diplomacy. Hostile France became friendly. An achievement of statesmanship.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne, France and Spain with England as an appanage of Spain were in the midst of a war. Soon Elizabeth ended the war with France even though she had to give up Calais. This was done with *a view to purchase peace* at the beginning of her reign.

But this peace was only short-lived ; soon there was deterioration in the relationships between France and England. The new king of France, Francis II had married Mary, Queen of Scots and supported her claim to the English crown and sought to depose Elizabeth.

France thought of uniting herself with England and Scotland under Mary, Queen of Scots and Francis II. But the treaty of Edinburgh and the death of Francis II in 1560, nullified these ambitions.

Just at that time France was weakened because of the rivalry between the Guises and Catherine de Medici, and the Huguenots. By way of retaliation Elizabeth openly helped the Huguenots or French Protestants in their civil war against the Catholics.

Meanwhile, France recognised that real danger came from Spain, as Alva, the Spanish general, completely subjugated the Netherlands. Naturally, England and France drew nearer to each other and became friendly by 1570, so much so that certain negotiations were made for the marriage of Elizabeth with Anjou and Alencon in order to frighten the Spanish king by an Anglo-French alliance.

Meanwhile the defeat of the Turks at Lepanto by Spain further strengthened their bond of friendship. Henceforth the corner-stone of Elizabeth's Anglo-

French policy was the enduring friendship with France. This relationship did not fall through even on the massacre of Huguenots whom Elizabeth had very often supported, in 1572. Things continued on like this till the end of her reign, nay for a century more after her death.

Review of French policy

In her relations with France, Elizabeth had kept an open mind and followed policies that suited circumstances. In the early years of her reign, she had watched that France supported the claim of Mary Stuart and wanted deposition of Elizabeth. To counteract this, Elizabeth was *shrewd* enough to take steps to see that France remained too much occupied with her own problems. So she helped the Huguenots in their civil wars against the Catholics and the Guises. With the civil wars in France Elizabeth had little fears from France and particularly so, if the Huguenots had got success in the land.

After sometime when Spain increased in power, it required of Elizabeth to change her French policy. She became friendly to France and even negotiations were started for her marriage with a French prince. She knew that she would not marry, but it had one good effect that a bellicose France was at last converted into a friendly France due to her *practical artful statesmanship*. Such was the success of her diplomacy.

B. ELIZABETH IN RELATIONS WITH SPAIN

Analysis :

B. Relations with Spain.

Spanish king Philip II was Mary Tudor's husband. Under Mary England followed Philip's policy in the continent against France.

After Mary, Elizabeth did not follow Philip's policy. But she had intelligence to read clearly that war with Spain was inevitable. She wanted to delay it.

I. Stage.

Philip's offer of marriage. Elizabeth's acceptance of consideration: Policy of dissimulation, but no marriage.

II: Stage.

Drift towards hostility. Both Philip and Elizabeth disliked open hostility, but fomented troubles in each other's kingdom.

III. Stage.

Invasion of England. The Armada. Review and Results of the policy.

When Elizabeth rose to the throne of England. Philip II was the king of Spain. He was the husband of Mary Tudor. England became an appanage of Spain during Mary's rule and Philip found the English alliance very helpful to further his religious and political ends. But on Elizabeth's ascendancy the relations between England and Spain were altered. Philip was champion of Catholicism, but Elizabeth was against Catholicism. Moreover, England and Spain were bitter commercial enemies. Philip was ambitious and overmighty, ever ready to tag England to his side, but the English queen was of remarkable intelligence and patriotism, unwilling to be a tool in the hands of Philip against France. Philip tried many tactics with Elizabeth to gain his ends, but she always eluded his grasp. Elizabeth had the political insight to preview that a war with Spain was inevitable; but she wanted to delay it as far as possible.

In the early years of her reign, Elizabeth's chief enemy was Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland and France. France was inimical to Spain. So Elizabeth counted on the hostility of these two countries of Europe. In such circumstances, Philip of Spain proposed to marry Elizabeth. Philip promised that, if she married him, he would make no peace with France, and pointed out that Elizabeth with the support of Spain would have no fear from Mary Stuart. Elizabeth also humoured Philip by telling him that, if at all she would marry, she would give due consideration.

Thus ensued a period of friendliness between England and Spain. During the first ten years of her reign, Philip did a valuable service to Elizabeth; his ambassador watched over her safety at home, he tried to persuade France to restore Calais to England,

and he delayed the vengeance of Rome. Even then Elizabeth was very careful not to marry Philip, not to give herself or England such a master as Philip II of Spain. On the contrary, she secretly abetted the 'Sea-Beggars'. At one time she laid hands on the pay-roll of Spanish troops in the Netherlands. She blessed the piratical attacks of Hawkins and Drake.

In course of time, the relations with Spain grew cold for differences which were partly religious and partly commercial. The English queen finally abandoned the idea of marriage with Philip II.

Gradually the Spanish policy of Elizabeth drifted towards hostility. As years went on it became ever more certain that war between England and Spain would break out. Elizabeth declared herself a protestant. The Papal sentence of excommunication and deposition had enraged Elizabeth. She showed no inclination to assist Philip in any of his enterprises. The Spanish king, on the other hand proceeded to plot against Elizabeth. He subsidized Roman Catholic priests, Jesuits and Seminary priests, to violate the laws of the land. He stirred up sedition and even went as far as to plan Elizabeth's assassination. Many conspiracies centred round Mary Stuart, and in every such plot were to be found the machinations and money of the Spanish king. At last Mary Stuart was executed in 1587. So far all the subtle expedients of Philip II had failed. Only employment of force remained.

While Spain fostered plots against Elizabeth in England, the English queen in turn felt sympathy for the Netherlanders and provoked them to rebel against Philip. But Philip was cautious not to declare open war against England. His patience was broken at last.

The seamen of England waylaid Philip's treasure-ships and attacked his dominions in the New World. Drake's voyage around the world was a hard blow to

Spain. On the top of it all, Elizabeth knighted her little pirate and thereby added insult to injury. Philip was greatly exasperated by these events. He could not tolerate the piracy of England, a very small country, compared to his empire. So, after the execution of Queen Mary of Scots in 1587, Philip visualised that Catholicism had no hope of revival in England. Delay would be still more dangerous. So the Spanish king was now determined to attack England. His *object* was to avenge the death of Mary Stuart and to bring England politically, religiously and commercially into harmony with his Spanish policies.

The Spanish Armada came in the year 1588. It was defeated off Gravelines, and after this a storm destroyed it. The defeat of Spanish Armada shattered Philip's navy and authority. Hereafter Philip continued, in small ways, to annoy and irritate Elizabeth. The war with Spain continued for some time, with Drake and other English seamen more than holding their own with the enemies

Effects of war with Spain

The war with Spain produced far-reaching effects. It united England under Elizabeth, ended the Catholic threat and marked the beginning of English naval supremacy. 'The defeat of the Armada was England's first title to commercial supremacy.'

Estimate of Spanish Policy

In her relations with Spain, Elizabeth pursued a *policy of peace* in the first years of the reign. France supported Mary Stuart. So Elizabeth made friendship with Philip II. She offered her hand to be won once by Philip of Spain and later by the French prince. In this way her *art of dissimulation* was successful for a pretty long time. Through this contrivance Philip II of Spain was restrained from taking any positive steps. It was sometimes difficult to understand her moves. Her policy was so bewildering that the Spanish envoy had said that "she was possessed by a hundred thousand devils."

But as years rolled on, England gained power and abandoned her pacific policy. She and Spain drifted

towards war, during the years of Mary's imprisonment. But at last a war broke out when Mary was executed. After Mary, Philip sent the Spanish Armada to invade England, but it was defeated.

The failure of the Armada proved the soundness of the Queen's policy. It made Elizabeth's throne quite secure. It showed that she had estimated the position properly. It saved English Reformation. Philip's hope of entrenching Catholicism in England was lost. England was no longer in danger of being invaded after the Armada. Her reputation rose high. It made England as famous as she had been in the days of Crecy and Agincourt. It made certain the success of the Dutch in their desperate struggle for liberty against Spain.

Through a metamorphic change of Spanish policy from pacificism to belligerency Elizabeth showed political sagacity and practical statesmanship in her foreign policy. It became so popular and useful that it continued to be a definite feature of English foreign policy for a century. Such was the success of her foreign policy.

C. ELIZABETH IN RELATIONS WITH SCOTLAND

Analysis :

C. Relations with Scotland. Elizabeth versus Mary Stuart.

1. Mary in France :

Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, claimed English throne Support from her husband, Francis II of France, Enemy of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth's policy—

- (i) to counteract French help in Scotland.
- (ii) to help Scottish Lords of the Congregation, Presbyterianism. Treaty of Edinburgh and Elizabeth's success :
 - (1) French troops to leave Scotland.
 - (2) Lords to settle Scottish religion,
 - (3) France acknowledges Elizabeth's title to crown.

II. Mary Stuart in Scotland :

Mary's bid to claim English crown by marrying Darnley, and to win English Catholics. Fell in vortex of unfortunate events. Lords of the Congregation rebelled. Mary captured,

deposed. Fled to England. After the Reformation in Scotland, both countries were friendly.

III. Mary in England :

- Catholics active in England on behalf of Mary. Plots of Ridolfi, Throgmorton, Babington Mary's knowledge proved. Mary executed.

Review and Result : End of Elizabeth's troubles from Scottish corner

From long before the Tudors Scotland was, generally speaking, hostile towards England and in alliance with France. Border fighting was a common occurrence. The earlier Tudors tried to bring about friendly relations with Scotland. Henry VII sought to pacify the Scotch through a marriage of his daughter Margaret to the Scotch king James IV. His son James V was friendly to France. The latter's only child Mary Stuart was born shortly before he died. This Mary was a serious rival of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth versus Mary

Between Elizabeth and Mary there was lifelong enmity. Mary was a Catholic and claimed to be the lawful queen of England, being descended from Henry VII through his daughter Margaret. Her claim received support from the Catholics of England who regarded Elizabeth's claim as illegal, she being the child of Anne Boleyn whose marriage with Henry VIII was not recognised by the Pope. And it may be urged in favour of Elizabeth that the national church of England was independent of the Pope, and the national Parliament which had acknowledged her as queen had an independent authority. For another reason Mary was a source of danger to Elizabeth. She was married to the French king Francis II. Now Mary's claim to the English crown was supported by her husband. So a Franco-Scottish alliance had greatly embarrassed Elizabeth.

Scottish Policy : Before the Scottish menace could become formidable, Elizabeth took a policy—

- i. to counteract the French help in Scotland and
- ii. to wean away the Scottish people from supporting Mary's designs on the English throne.

Elizabeth succeeded in her aim by taking advantage of the Reformation movement that was going on in Scotland and the disorderly internal condition of the country.

Mary in France

About this time Scotland was ruled by the Regent mother of Mary Stuart. She was a champion of Catholicism, and vigorously opposed the growth of Protestantism in Scotland.

There a number of Scottish nobles formed a league called "The Lords of the Congregation" and established Presbyterianism. Led by the famous preacher John Knox, the Scots threw off the rule of the Pope and the bishops, and established Protestant church of Geneva type. It was governed by little council of presbyters or elders who replaced the bishops. The church of Scotland was thus made just what the English puritans wanted to make the church of England. Though the regime of Mary of Guise the Regent was galling, protestantism spread rapidly in Scotland.

The Scottish people sought the help of Elizabeth. Cecil and Parliament advised the queen to assist them. To nip the Reformation in Scotland in the bud Mary of Guise brought over troops from France. The lords called on Elizabeth for help. Scotland had by now become staunch protestants and did not like the alliance of Catholic France. So there grew a stronger bond between England and Scotland due to a common religion. Taking advantage of this situation Elizabeth sent an English fleet and an army to help the protestants of Scotland. The French were besieged at Leith. Soon after the regent died and a treaty was made. By the treaty of Edinburgh the French withdrew from Scotland and the Lords settled the Scottish religion which was Presbyterianism. The French acknowledged Elizabeth's title to the English crown.

Review

The first phase of Elizabeth's Scottish policy was a signal success. The French help in Scotland was

routed. Mary was not to receive united help from the Scots, as Elizabeth had earned the goodwill and sympathy of the majority people for her timely assistance to the Protestant cause in Scotland. There grew a greater community of love between the Scots and the English for a common type of their religion.

Mary in Scotland

The Scottish policy of Elizabeth entered a new phase when Mary Stuart came back to Scotland after the death of Francis II of France. In 1561 Mary returned to Scotland and tactfully won over the Scottish protestants. Before long Mary found that she could not get much power over her Protestant subjects. She turned her eyes to England where there were Romanists in large numbers. If they were successful in England, probably they would depose Elizabeth and make Mary their Queen. But before Mary could proceed as she desired, events moved fast and Mary committed blunders by which she lost the sympathy of her people.

Deliberately she married Darnley,* the grandson of Margaret Tudor, to win over the English Catholics. She even demanded recognition as Elizabeth's successor. Very soon she muddled her matrimonial affairs. Darnley incited the murder of her Italian secretary, Bizzio, who was rather intimate with his queen. Shortly afterwards Darnley was murdered by orders of Bothwell. Then hastily, to her regret, she married Bothwell. At this her subjects rose against her. Her countrymen defeated her at Carberry Hill and Langside, and after this, she fled to England.

Elizabeth was puzzled what to do with Mary. She could not restore her to the throne, because she did not like to make her powerful and to offend the Protestant nobles who governed Scotland in the name of minor James VI. She therefore kept Mary in England in an honourable captivity. But Mary was dangerous to Elizabeth even in her prison. Her presence in England brought a crop of troubles for

*See Genealogy of Darnley in Appendix.

Elizabeth. As the North of England was more catholic than the south, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland rose against Elizabeth. The Duke of Norfolk and Spanish ambassador were also implicated in it. These rebels of 1569 marched into Yorkshire but their forces melted away and their leaders escaped to Scotland. Queen Elizabeth took a cruel revenge on the north.

In the next year, 1570, the pope excommunicated Elizabeth. This led to the hatching of fresh plots around Queen Mary of Scotland. In 1571, one Ridolfi, plotted to assassinate Elizabeth. This was discovered in time and the Duke of Norfolk was condemned to death for complicity. Soon after the Jesuits came to England and were led by Parsons and Campion. Campion was executed in 1581. Then came the Throckmorton plot to aid Spanish designs favouring Mary. This too was destroyed. Finally, the Babington Plot of 1586 was hatched to murder Elizabeth and put Mary on the throne with the Spanish help. The leaders corresponded with Mary; but Walsingham's spies discovered it. This spelt Mary's ruin. She was executed in 1587 for treason.

The execution of Mary brought an end to Elizabeth's troubles from Scottish corner. She shattered the hopes of the Catholics, as there remained no Catholic rival to the throne. The position of Elizabeth in the English throne became absolutely secure now.

Critical Review of Scottish policy

During the whole course of her relations with Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, Elizabeth followed a simple and temperate foreign policy of caution, a policy of wait and see, and action only when it is essential. She understood the strength of her as well as of her adversaries. In such circumstances she thought that a general policy of peace was the only key to her problems. So she vacillated and temporised as long as she could.

In the early years, she took advantage of the bitter strife between the Catholics and the Protes-

tants in Scotland. The protestants sought her help, but she delayed. For, she apprehended that a direct intervention in Scotland would immediately antagonise France. Later persuaded by Cecil, she sent an expedition in aid of the protestants against the French troops that had landed there. The treaty of Edinburgh was a great achievement of success. The goodwill of England was heightened thereby.

After this, Mary Stuart began to favour the Catholics. The Scottish nobles desired that Elizabeth should Mary a protestant noble of Scotland and champion their cause. This the queen turned down, as she did not like to be marked out as a champion of Protestantism and to involve her country in a war with the Counter-Reformation forces, But Elizabeth showed sympathy with the Scottish Protestants.

In later stages, Elizabeth was confronted with a very knotty problem when Mary came to England fleeing from Scotland. If she restored Mary by force, it would be ungenerous of Elizabeth and alienate the Scots; if she gave her a free passage to France, it would strengthen the Guises, and be a source of danger to Elizabeth; and if she remained in England, it would 'generate treasonable intrigues.' However, Elizabeth decided to keep Mary in honourable imprisonment. During her captivity, plot after plot was hatched in Mary's name, still Elizabeth did not take any drastic action against her because of complex causes. She proceeded cautiously, because (a) any hasty action would have sparked off a war with Spain. Again, (b) as long as Mary was alive, Philip II could count on a catholic succession in England; and Elizabeth knew very well that Philip was too cautious to launch on a war. Lastly, (c) Elizabeth thought that if the Scots were to grow turbulent she could afford to threaten them with the release of Mary, and she could also be released to engender factions in the Court of France. Thus from the moment Mary became Elizabeth's captive, 'the politics of England and indeed of all Europe, turned on the hinges of her prison doors'. In the eddies of

diplomatic relations Elizabeth steered her ship of state cautiously and passed smoothly. By following a policy of caution and 'watch and see', Elizabeth allowed the Scottish problem to liquidate itself.

D. ELIZABETH IN RELATIONS WITH THE NETHERLANDS

Analysis :

The Netherlands. Its importance. Its internal conditions. Eyes of Spain and France on her. English interests in the Netherlands. Movement for independence and Protestantism.

Elizabeth's Policies : Cautious and calculated.

About this time the Netherlands, approximately the modern kingdoms of Holland and Belgium, was under Spain. Philip II irritated this country by his policy of religious persecution and his attempt to exclude the local nobles from power. He sent the Duke of Alva to rule the Netherlands ruthlessly, but the people there were bold and spirited and rose in open revolt under William the Silent. In aid of their endeavours Elizabeth sent secret succour. For, the northern provinces of the Netherlands were mainly protestant ; the English queen desired that this land should be kept open to English trade ; and the Spanish monarch should be kept as far as possible engaged in this land, so that he may not attack England. The followers of William the Silent—the Sea Beggars—used the English harbours as bases to raid Spanish shipping. The Dutch declared their independence. After William the Silent's assassination, the English people thought that the next would be Elizabeth's turn. So a treaty was signed with the rebels and an English army was sent there and it controlled the Netherlands.

After the defeat of the Armada, the English people once again took interest in the Netherlands. The English troops landed in the Netherlands and fought a series of battles. Elizabeth made an alliance with Maurie of Orange and maintained the cause of the Dutch Independence.

Estimate of policy

In her relations with the Netherlands, Elizabeth followed her basic ideal of peace in England'. It was punctuated by a policy of vacillation and drift. The problems were delicate here. What was wanted in the circumstances was a cool, cautious procedure. Any hasty step would have sealed England's fate in the Netherlands and meant ruin of commercial prospects. With that end in view, she secretly aided the Sea Beggars, but it was more of an uncommittal nature. For, if Philip had complete control of the Netherlands, he would exclude the English traders from that country. This aid and abetment of Elizabeth was more in the interest of commercial prosperity of her nation. But after the Armada she sent more military help to the Netherlands in the hope that Spain would be locked up in the Low Countries and prevented from invading England. Here were sown the seeds of English relations with the Low Countries which became prominent in the seventeenth century.

**E. A GENERAL ESTIMATE OF FOREIGN POLICY
OF ELIZABETH**

From a study of mass of events during an unusually long reign, it may seem that Elizabeth had perhaps no foreign policy at all. If, however, one reads them closely, a few outlines of her policy become clear and discernible. But before she is praised or criticised before the bar of history, it is necessary to imagine how she was placed in the circumstances.

By the time she ascended the throne there were innumerable snares and threats around her. The country was at its low ebb of fortunes. The island was rent asunder between the Catholics and the Protestants, yet the religious problem was not settled. Peace at home generally governs the foreign policy of a monarch. The international web was complicated. The House of Guise, powerful both in Scotland and France wanted to bring England into an alliance in which they dominated. In the eyes of Spain she was

a heretic who stood in the path of Counter-Reformation and the overwhelming strength of the Hapsburg Empire. In the eyes of papacy her mother's marriage was still illegal and so she was an usurper of the English throne. Confronted with so many difficulties she was compelled to sit on the fence and ponder over the currents and cross currents of events. She had no chance to take any initiative immediately on accession. That is why she put her trust in the mistakes of her opponents rather than in her own initiative and strength. She knew her own strength and realised that for every year of peace that she could gain, England would be richer and stronger. That is why the later years of Elizabeth were fraught with active and aggressive policies.

In her earlier years, therefore, she wanted to keep England out of war and to maintain friendly terms with foreign powers as far as possible. She knew that costs of wars would be devastating and suicidal to England. So Elizabeth followed an essentially *peace foreign policy*: In following this peace policy she wisely utilised her virginity as her supreme trump. Bindoff says, "Elizabethan fame rests upon three things, her longevity, *her long preserved virginity*, her political genius." Both the kings of France and Spain vied with each other to win the hand of Elizabeth. but she, by careful subterfuges, made fools of them. At times she lied for amusement. If Elizabeth baffled the expectations of her courtiers by all her Machiavellian techniques, she was quite justified. In the language of Reese, "Elizabeth knew better than her critics. Her virginity became symbol of that national independence which it was her aim to defend. If she married a foreign prince, she bound herself and her people to serve his interests. But if she married at all, she threw away her strongest weapon. Unmarried, she kept all Europe hopeful and expectant, unwilling to fight against her if they might conquer by wooing; married, she lost her power." She was determined never to marry, and yet she discussed marriage with the French for ten useful years. *Her art of dissimulation* was a part of her foreign policy.

Her dissembling diplomacy was always turned to good account to some political triumph.

On her accession to the throne, Elizabeth found that England was divided by fears, and religious feuds; and she was the sad appanage of Spain. France had established herself in the Netherlands. These two powers had their own plans for England. But as these two powers were bitter enemies, Elizabeth took advantage of the situation and played off the one against the other so that they might not unite against England.

At times she derived benefit from Spain and at other times from France. Yet she supported the anti-French movements in Scotland or anti-Spanish movements in the Netherlands. By these subtle moves Spain or France was engaged elsewhere and prevented from invading England. Again, even deriving benefits from these countries she would claim that she owed them nothing. And her remark that she owed all to the English people is greatly significant. As Trevelyan puts it, "If this was not the whole truth, it was the part of the truth that mattered the most. It was one of those lightning flashes of sincerity that so often burst from the cloud of vain and deceitful words in which Elizabeth loved to hide her real thoughts and purposes". In fact the foreign policy of Elizabeth was *intensely national*. The weal of England was her chief concern in all matters, even though her methods might have been unheroic or she procrastinated or vacillated and betrayed her allies.

The foreign policy of Elizabeth has been criticised by some historians. It is said that her foreign policy was not bold, but it was temporising and vacillating; it was coated with trickery and falsehood, and had neither consistency nor moral scruples. It was 'not broad, large or ambitious but narrow and limited.' (Green)

In defence of her foreign policy it may be said that it was simple, direct, obvious and eminently practical. Her aim was to keep England out of war

as far as possible. The historical circumstances are to be judged before denouncing a policy of Elizabeth. At the time of her accession, England was not in a position to interfere decisively in the affairs of Europe. Her population reached barely five millions. Her revenues were small, her treasury was in debt, her coinage was debased, commerce was languishing; people were poor and there was apprehension of a religious civil war. England was defenceless, without any standing army or an equipped fleet. It was not possible to wield a bold policy under such circumstances.

As a result, a policy of drift was taken recourse to. To do nothing is indeed no golden rule of statesmanship. But at that time England's peculiar position between France and Spain, between Calvinism and Catholicism enabled her to play a waiting game. This was the general rule applicable to the situation. The policy was safe. It was cheap. It was born of coolness and intrepidity.

Protestantism in foreign policy

It has been contended by some historians that the foreign policy of Elizabeth was greatly governed by protestantism. It was true that so long as the papal bull nullifying Henry VIII's marriage with Anne Boleyn was there, it was impossible for Elizabeth to be a champion of Catholicism, which was at the same time waning as a creed in Europe. She was ever opposed by the Catholic Mary Stuart and Philip II. So it was only too natural for Elizabeth to have a protestant bias in her foreign policy. That is why she aided the Sea-Beggars in Holland, the Huguenots in France and the presbyterian Lords of the Congregation in Scotland.

But protestantism was not the only consideration in her foreign policy. If that had been so, it could not explain why she was sometimes prepared to join hands with Spain to suppress protestantism in the Netherlands, why she was reluctant to help the Scottish protestants initially, why she was personally opposed to the execution of Catholic Mary, Queen of

Scots and why she was simply satisfied with an apology by the French for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The truth perhaps lies in that Elizabeth was more concerned with the insular peace of England rather than with religious predilections. She adopted foreign policies only to suit changed circumstances from strictly strategical point of view and not from any religious view point.

Policy of splendid isolation

Some historians regret that the foreign policy of Elizabeth had no glitter of lofty ideals of internationalism and no flutter of expansive wars. It has been dubbed as a 'foreign policy of splendid isolation'. From a study of her foreign relations it is clear that she was so circumstanced that it was impossible for her to strike on all fronts from the very beginning of her reign. So she had to follow a policy of peace, and take a line of defensive war through diplomacy and 'no-war'. She marked time and prepared incessantly, under cover of peace and negotiation, for any eventuality of war and invasion. In defence of her policy, it may be stated that the English people had learnt from the Hundred Years' War a lesson that expansive wars were not to the gain of England. The people had gloried in being "little islanders", and developed a stiffness of character by throwing off the papal influence and nurturing an independent religion of the island. In this way, Elizabeth released the forces of nationalism in England. But it was not the nationalism of utter insularity with eyes shut against progress and expansion. It was only a feeling of insularity with singularity. The entire English people felt an oneness of English nation, and Elizabeth felt pride in being "mere English" and uttered those feelings often in the parliament. When psychologically the English people were knit together with oneness in splendid isolation, they buried their differences in religion. This was singularly exhibited when the Armada came to invade England. The Roman Catholics and Protestants fought together against the Spaniards.

So the splendid isolation stood the people in good stead, and this served as a good spring-board for the expansive energies of the English people. The English queen gave encouragement to the trading companies, the explorers, navigators and piratical sea-dogs to expand, to trade and colonise and to fight across the seas. Thus towards the end of her reign, the Elizabethans had found themselves well established in the Netherlands, in North America and in the east. It was in that sense not a policy of isolation but ultimately a policy of expansion out of isolation.

When all is said, Elizabeth is entitled to be judged by the success of her policy. England was carried safely through unparalleled difficulties. She could have been overrun and invaded by Spain or France, but that contingency did not take place. On the contrary, after the defeat of the Armada England was on her bid to be the mistress of the seas.

4. ELIZABETH AND CATHOLIC COUNTER-REFORMATION

Analysis :

Elizabeth's Relations with Catholics and Papacy. Hostile. Counter-Reformation movement in Elizabeth's period. Faith in *enjus regio ejus religio*. Hostilities on different counts from beginning till end.

1. On title to throne ; Catholics believed Elizabeth an usurper and Mary a rightful heir. Mary's cause helped by Franco-Scottish alliance

2. On Queen's marriage : Proposal to marry Elizabeth to a Catholic. Marriage talked out but evaded

3. On promoting disloyalty among Catholics : Recusancy Laws.

4. On Pope's Bull : Elizabeth excommunicated. Its effects among Catholics. A spark to hatch plots to slay Elizabeth.

5. On Conspiracies : Revolts of Norfolk, Ridolfi, Throgmorton and Babington. Secret instigation from Pope, Jesuits, Seminary priests and Mary Stuart. Mary executed for treason.

6. On Armada challenge . Open war with Spain.

A. life-long conflict between Elizabeth and Counter-Reformation.

When Elizabeth came to the throne, the majority of Englishmen, outside London, Norwich and Canterbury, preferred the old forms of worships to the

Genevan model. But they did not like to submit to papal claims. Elizabeth also was moderate in her dealings with the Catholics and tried to win over the moderate Catholics. But they hated Elizabeth and her religious policy which was protestant in form and spirit. They considered her to be an usurper, as the Pope had not held valid the marriage of her mother with Henry VIII. To these Catholics, Mary Stuart was the lawful sovereign, being the great granddaughter of Henry VII, and to crown all, Mary was an avowed Catholic. Thus the reign of Elizabeth began with a menace from Catholic corner. As years rolled on, she had to encounter this Catholic menace at home and abroad with great intensity. Accordingly, one historian has stated succinctly—"Politically, Elizabeth's reign is the story of the struggle with the Counter-Reformation."

Counter-Reformation

The Counter-Reformation, as stated earlier, was a serious movement by the Papacy in the sixties and seventies of the sixteenth century to win the ground lost to the Protestants, both spiritually and geographically, in the first quarter of the same century. It was a three-pronged movement of the reforming popes, untiring Jesuits and sobering council of Trent. Its chief protagonist was Philip II of Spain who set up the notorious institution, the "Inquisition" for persecution of heretics. The wave of this Counter-Reformation movement reached the mainland of England from the continent. It made its appearance in the forms of papal bull excommunicating Elizabeth, of anti-state propaganda of the Jesuits in England, of Catholic plots to murder Elizabeth and lastly of foreign invasion by Catholic kings of the continent. Elizabeth had to tackle all these with care and caution all throughout her reign.

About the time of Elizabeth's accession there was still, in European politics, a firm belief in the state maxim, *cujus regio ejus religio*. That is, religion of the land followed the religion of the king. Where the sovereign was Catholic, it was assumed that the land

would be Catholic. So the Pope and the Catholics, following the process of Counter-Reformation in other countries of Europe wanted from the beginning of her reign that England should be regained from the Reformation, and that a Catholic sovereign should be set on the English throne. Therefore, movement of Counter-Reformation affected Elizabeth in a variety of ways.

Title to throne disputed

In the *first* place, the title itself of Elizabeth to the throne was disputed, and a series of troubles ensued. The Catholics and the Jesuits supported the claim of Mary Stuart as rightful queen of England, and contended Elizabeth's accession to the throne. The Pope had decreed that Catherine was never divorced by Henry VIII and that Elizabeth was a product of adultery. So Elizabeth was an usurper in the eyes of the Catholics. They counted on the success of Mary Stuart who married the Catholic French King, Francis II. But the menace from the Franco-Scottish alliance did not affect her ultimately, as Francis II died soon after and Mary Stuart returned to Scotland. On the contrary, Elizabeth won the support of Philip of Spain luckily, due to the fortuitous rivalry that existed between Spain and France. Moreover, Mary in Scotland was too much occupied with her own problems there to engineer any effective pro-Catholic trouble in England. But Elizabeth had her claim to the throne recognised by Parliament. The Catholic machinations were of no avail ultimately.

Queen's marriage

In the *second* place, when Mary Stuart failed to sit on the throne, there remained another possibility of Catholic sovereignty, if Philip the husband of the late queen of England, Mary Tudor, had won the English throne by force or if he married Elizabeth. The marriage with Philip was not possible till the Pope granted a dispensation. So there ensued a series of marriage negotiations, with Philip II of Spain, with Arran of Chatelherault, with Archduke Charles, with Lord Robert Dudley of Leicester, with Henry of

Anjou and with Alencon-Anjou. In the bewildering succession of negotiations, proposal after proposal fell through on this or that ground. It became evident that the queen would coquet, but not marry. The net result was that the queen entrenched her position meanwhile, gave a lease of life to her Religious system and kept England free from war or invasion. Spain remained quiet and gradually France became her ally. The edge of Counter-Reformation was thus smoothed by the adroit diplomacy of Elizabeth. In the interest of nation Elizabeth would prefer to be a virgin and thus keep England free from the onset of Catholic troubles.

Catholic disloyalty to church system

In the *third* place, the Catholics would not conform to the church system of Elizabeth. They disliked it, as it was of Protestant hue. They refused to attend church and to conform to the Protestant church services. But Elizabeth was equally determined to see that all Englishmen obeyed her system. Truants who absented from church services were called the *Recusants*. Recusancy laws were passed to enforce conformity and fines were imposed as penalty. In this way Elizabeth tried to fight disloyalty of the Catholics.

Bull of Excommunication and Deposition

In the *fourth* place, Elizabeth was treated with a severe blow by the Pope himself, the head of the Counter-Reformation movement. In 1570 the Pope declared that, as Elizabeth was a heretic, she had no right to reign. The Bull

(a) declared Elizabeth's forfeiture to all right to the throne,

(b) absolved her subjects from allegiance to her,

(c) threatened to excommunicate those who obeyed her. The Bull was a practical declaration of war on the English queen. This gave a green signal to a number of plots against her.

Catholic Conspiracies

In the *fifth* place, driven to despair, encouraged by the papal Bull, and roused in hopes by the presence of Mary, Queen of Scots, in England, the Catholics were in secret communications with the Pope and Mary Stuart. They began to plot against Elizabeth in favour of Mary. Philip of Spain, who was now becoming unfriendly to Elizabeth, gave them help. The danger to her life soon became very grave.

The first movement against Elizabeth was a *Catholic revolt in the north*. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland rebelled to depose Elizabeth and instal Mary Stuart on the throne. The revolt failed. In 1571 a serious plot was formed to lead a revolt to release Mary and restore Catholicism. The plotters hoped for a sudden Spanish invasion by Alva's army. Ridolfi, a banker, was the medium of communication. This *Ridolfi-Norfolk* plot was discovered at the right moment, and the plotters punished.

For many years there was no further plot. Next, in 1583, a plot to assassinate Elizabeth was arranged. The prime movers behind plot were the Jesuits and seminary priests, who were again incited by the pope. This plot, called *Throgmorton's plot* after the name of one of the conspirators, had its object of placing Mary on the throne and its modus of bringing about an invasion of England by France and Spain and internal insurrection by the Catholics. The plot was discovered; and as its sequel, the Spanish ambassador was ordered to leave England, the plotters were executed.

To counteract such activities laws were passed to put the jealous Jesuits to death as traitors. Before long many missionaries were executed. Besides, the English people formed the *Bond of Association* to protect the life of the queen (1584). They promised that in case of queen's murder, they would put to death the person for whose sake the deed would be committed. In fact, they hinted at Mary Stuart.

Plot after plot was formed to slay Elizabeth. The last plot, called *Babington's Plot* (1586) was inspired by a seminary priest Father Ballard, a Douai Priest, to murder Elizabeth. The plot was discovered, and letters were found written by Mary, warmly approving of Babington's plot. This gave Elizabeth a chance to try Mary as an accomplice and execute her in 1587. With Mary's death Elizabeth's worst dangers passed away. There was no longer any reason for making plots to slay her in the interest of Catholic cause. For, if they had succeeded, the next heir now was James of Scotland, who was a Protestant.

The Armada

In the *sixth* place, the forces of the Counter-Reformation next tried an open War. Philip II of Spain made a desperate move to smother the heresy of England and her apostate queen. So long Philip had fought behind the covert of secrecy and conspiracy. He was now to come into the open. Philip planned that the Armada would sail up the channel to Flanders and join there the army of the Duke of Parma. This army will invade England thereafter. In the encounter that followed, the Spanish fleet was defeated. Its defeat relieved Elizabeth of any further danger from the Roman Catholics. The forces of the Counter-Reformation were smashed in England and checkmated in the Continent.

Lastly, even after the defeat of the Armada, Spain continued her fighting at sea with England at times. Philip even fitted out another new Armada at Cadiz, but it was destroyed by the English and Cadiz was even taken by storm. With the death of Philip in 1589 the life-and-death struggle of Elizabeth with the Counter-Reformation forces came to an end.

5. THE SPANISH ARMADA

Analysis:

- I. Early relations between England and Spain, Spain friendly.
- II. Drift towards war Causes of Spanish attack :
 - (a) Philip champion of Catholicism and Counter-Reformation.

- (b) English help to the Dutch.
- (c) Plunder of Spanish ships by Drake and 'sea-dogs'.
- (d) Execution of Mary Stuart.
- (e) Pope's financial help . Offer of assistance by Catholics

III. Plan of invasion.

IV. Preparations on both sides.

V. Strategy and tactics.

VI. Results of Defeat of the Armada :

- (1) Enemies of Elizabeth despaired.
- (2) England's position improved in the continent.
- (3) Revolt of the Dutch continued.
- (4) Continued hostility between England and Spain :

France ally.

- (5) No fear of Spanish invasion, Catholic re-conversion.
- (6) English Reformation survived.
- (7) Personal Victory of Elizabeth.

VII. Causes of the Defeat of the Armada :

- 1. Strategy and tactics compared.
- 2. Better technology of English ships.
- 3. English patriotism : Spanish fanaticism.
- 4. Queen's part and enthusiasm.
- 5. Lucky winds in favour of the English.

When Elizabeth had ascended the throne, she could see that her trouble lurked in Spain, and a war with that country was almost inevitable. But in consideration of her weak finance, religious rifts in the country and unpreparedness of her people to match equally with Spain, she averted a direct war with Spain by diplomacy- The Spanish king Philip was also not in favour of a war with England during the initial years of Elizabeth's reign but desired to maintain the alliance of England. Philip even offered to marry Elizabeth, but it was declined by the queen. Philip's fear of French power helped Elizabeth to remain friendly with Spain and gain power meanwhile.

Causes of Spanish attack

Things went on smoothly for sometime. But times were changing, and there occurred occasions of bitterness between England and Spain. These causes of tension and ill-feeling were many.

Firstly, Philip II was the Arch-Champion of Catholicism and a general of Papacy in Protestant

countries. The Church-system of Elizabeth in England was now, to all intents and purposes, Protestantism in both form and spirit, though it was apparently a *via media*. Philip had therefore harboured an ill-feeling, only to pounce on England later in an opportune moment.

Secondly, Philip watched that the English volunteers had helped the people of the Netherlands in their struggle of independence against Spanish tyranny, and that the English queen did nothing to hinder the Rovers in the channel and the piratical expeditions of Drake.

Thirdly, the plunder of Spanish treasureships and territories in the West Indies by Drake in 1585 angered Philip II so much that he started preparations to attack England. His preparations were suddenly disturbed when in 1587 Drake led a bold sally into the port of Cadiz and destroyed a large part of Philip's stores and transport. Drake called this exploit "Singeing of the king of Spain's beard." This delayed the invasion for a year, but infuriated Philip II.

To all these was added the *fourth cause*—namely, the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. In dying Mary left her claim to the crown to Philip's daughter Infanta who was in a remote degree a descendant of John of Gaunt. Philip at once determined to enforce her rights by an invasion. Moreover Mary died a Catholic martyr, and Philip II, as the "Most Catholic King" and the most avowed supporter of Counter-Reformation, decided to enforce the Papal Bull of Excommunication and Deposition (1570), avenge the death of Mary Stuart and banish the Reformation from England.

Lastly, Philip was encouraged in his determination by the offer of the Pope to help him financially, the representation of Allen that the recusants and the bulk of the English nation and Catholic lords like Arundel and others were ready to help in case of invasion.

At length Philip sent his Armada in 1588.

Plan of invasion

It was Philip's orders that the Armada was to sail up the English Channel through the Straits of Dover, and then to land at one of the Netherland ports to join the army of the Duke of Parma. The whole body was then to attempt the invasion of England.

Preparations on both sides

On the *Spanish side*, the Spanish Armada was under the command of Duke Medina Sidonia. He was a Spanish noble with little knowledge about fighting at sea. It was a fleet of 130 ships, 8000 seamen, 19000 soldiers. In the Netherlands it was to be joined by Alexander Farnese with 33,000 veteran troops. The whole force was to be landed in England. Spanish soldiers were well trained and good fighters.

On the *English side* there were a fleet and an army. The army consisted of 70,000 men under the command of the Earl of Leicester. Besides, the militia of every county poured in every day. These were not trained soldiers, but were Englishmen who were ready to defend their country at a moment's notice. They were no equals of the Spaniards in training ; but could fight hard with the bow and the pike. Queen Elizabeth rode on a white horse down the lines of cheering men. The English had, however, relied chiefly on the fleet. The English fleet outnumbered the Spanish ; and the ships of the Royal Navy were supplemented by every merchant ship and every Rover Ship. Most of the English ships were comparatively small and could be easily manœuvred. The English fleet was under the command of Lord Howard of Effingham. With him were Drake, Fro-bisher, Hawkins and all the great seamen of the time.

Apart from the fleet and the army the English people were possessed of a stout *morale*, a grim determination and a national *esprit de corps*. In one respect Philip had underestimated his enemy. He had counted upon a divided country. But the attack

upon England was considered to be a primarily national calamity, rather than religious; and Catholics and Protestants vied with one another in offering aid to queen. Their commander-in-chief Lord Howard was a Roman Catholic. Philip had to face a united rather than a divided nation.

Events and strategy and tactics

In July 1588, the Armada was sighted in the channel. Lord Howard's fleet was at Plymouth. It did not attempt to stop its progress, but let the spaniards pass by. Then quickly pursuing, the English ships sailed out of port and hung upon the Armada in its rear. The spaniards sailed slowly up the channel in the form of a huge half-moon. The light English ships easily caught the Spanish ships and attacked their rearguard; but these could escape the attack of the Spanish by reason of the superior seamanship of the English. The Spaniards lost heavily and were glad to cast anchor off Calais and rest.

But the English could not afford to wait. Both powder and provisions were running short. So Howard devised a means to compel the Spaniards to fight. Drake had eight barges loaded with tar and other burning stuff; these were set on fire, and driven on the rising tide, among the closely packed Spaniards at anchor. Fearful of catching fire the Spanish fleet cut their cables and took to the sea. In disorder they blundered out of harbour. A little later, they were forced to fight a pitched battle, off Gravelines with the English fleet. The Spanish were utterly defeated. The only course left to the Spanish was retreat. In despair they sailed northwards, hoping to reach home by going round the north of Scotland and then turning south. But there came tempests which completed the work of the English sailors. Many of the Spanish ships were wrecked on the coasts and islands of the north of Scotland. Only 53 out of 130 ships returned to Spain. The Armada had thus failed ultimately.

Results

The defeat of the Armada produced a series of results which were decisive and complete :

(a) It completely changed the position of England. The enemies of Elizabeth at home and abroad were despaired of success.

(b) Abroad, England assumed an important place in the European polity. Henry of France was proud to accept Elizabeth as his ally.

(c) The Dutch could now hope to win their fight for freedom from Spain.

(d) The war between England and Spain was not over, but it had only just begun. England was not conquered by Spain, nor was it likely to be conquered. The naval supremacy of Spain was shattered. On the contrary the maritime supremacy of England was established. The English sailors moved without fear on the high seas. They attacked Spanish ships wherever they could find them. The Spanish navy and commerce were ruined, to the gain of the English. The Spanish monopoly on the high seas and in the New World now collapsed.

(e) At home, Elizabeth was relieved of any further danger from the Catholics of her island or from the forces of the Counter-Reformation. England would no longer be forced to become Roman Catholic again. The English Reformation was saved. With foreign danger gone, England marched on to progress and her parliament became assertive.

(f) Outside England, even the defeat of the Armada checked the Catholic Reaction.

(g) Above all, it was a personal triumph for Elizabeth. Earlier in her reign, she had foreseen the struggle between Spain and England, and she had prepared for it only by putting it off until England was strong enough to beat Spain on equal terms. The event proved that her calculation was correct. She thus saved not only herself but England. Thus to the end of her life she became the idol of the nation.

Causes of English success and Spanish failure

It is worthwhile to pause and analyse the causes of the failure of the Spanish Armada and the English victory over it. A variety of causes were responsible for such a pass.

Firstly, the strategy and tactics adopted in the fight contributed, to a great extent, to the English success. The strength of the Spanish fleet was greater than that of the English; and the Spanish ships were heavy while those of the English were light. The English therefore adopted the tactics of attacking the rear of the Spanish Armada; and in this endeavour the celerity, quickness and lightness of English vessels got the better of heavy Spanish ships. The Spanish galleons were sunk one by one, as if "the feathers of the Spaniards were plucked one by one." The English vessels fired quicker than the Spanish ships. The tactics of Howard in sending fire-ships on to the midst of thick Spanish Armada was ingenious and devastating for Spanish fleet. The order of Medina Sidonia, to retreat to Spain, to the utter neglect of the advice of Captain Oquenda to continue to fight, was suicidal. The channel was infested with 'sea-dogs', and Drake and others followed the Armada to destroy it and cut off supplies of men, food and ammunition. The Spaniards were robbed and murdered by Scotch clansmen, Irish Kerns, and by the wreckers of the Orkneys.

Secondly, the English ships were better built. These were speedy and well-rigged and could manœuvre quickly. The improved technique of 'broad-side' was introduced in the English ships. The English man-of-war was now a 'moving battery' and 'not a platform for a storming army'; but the Spanish tactics was the opposite. Moreover, the Spanish ships were manned by slave-ridden galleys who were trained on the calm surface of the Mediterranean, but the English ships were manned by rough seamen who had experiences of the rough waters of the Atlantic or other high seas. Discipline among the English sailors was superior to the class-

pride of the Spanish nobles and mercenary interests of the galleons. The Spanish suffered from seasickness and some bad food causing illnesses.

Thirdly, patriotism of the English got the better of fanaticism of the Spanish Catholics. The English nation to a man was determined to defend the country against the strangers. A united England responded to the appeal of the queen. Squires, merchants and volunteers—all drew up with the royal navy. The work of the Jesuits perished in an hour. It was no longer a war of religions, but a struggle between the two nations. The defeat of the Armada proved that loyalty and national unity were superior to religious strife.

Fourthly, the English victory was, in a certain sense, due to the queen. She was patient and moderate, and kept the balance by suppressing the fanaticism, either Catholic or Puritan. She steadily preferred national union to any other consideration of advantage. She was neither Catholic nor Protestant, but the Queen of England. She came among her people in the throes of a national danger.

Fifthly, luck in a way was on the side of the English. Soon after the battle of Gravelines, a tempest blew; the waves rose; storm after storm drove the Spanish vessels on the cruel rocks. Trevelyan says, "The winds, waves and rocks of the remote Northwest completed many wrecks begun by the cannon in the Channel." England attributed her deliverance to the storm and acknowledged her debt to the work of God by inscribing on the medal the words.—"The Lord sent His wind and scattered them".

6. THE ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE

Analysis :

Elizabethan Age—an era of literary activity. Its characteristics : Vigour, many-sidedness, creative force and patriotism. National literature,

Growth of English as against Latin and French.

Growth of Humanism, as distinct from Christian and Church literature.

Growth of Poetry—Blank verse, Sonnet, Lyrics.

Growth of Prose, Fiction.

Growth of Drama—Comedy Tragedy, Romance, Through Miracles, Moralities and Interludes.

Famous names in literature :—Surrey Spenser, Morlowe, Shakespeare, Bacon Fletcher and Beaumont. Shirley, Webster.

Literary activity :—The reign of Elizabeth had a splendid crop of literature. In a degree it was quite unique for its many sidedness, its vigour, its creative force and its patriotism. It came into being after the Renaissance and so it was the ripest fruit of the European Renaissance. It embodied in it all that is connoted in that magic word Renaissance, defined by Michelet, as Discovery by mankind of himself and of the world.' The people of this age grew an enthusiasm for the Greek and Latin classics, a passion for extending the limits of human knowledge, a resolve to make the best and not the worst of life on earth, an ambition to cultivate the idea of beauty, a faith in man's physical, moral and intellectual perfectibility and a conviction that man's reason was given him to use without restraint. It faithfully mirrored the whole spirit of the Elizabethan times—its vigour, its versatility, its creative force. Alike in Prose and Poetry are revealed an unparalleled vivacity, a remarkable breadth of idea, a feverish enthusiasm, an audacious disregard of conventions and an unmistakable individuality marked by a strong national spirit.

This sudden outburst of literary activity synchronised with the mighty defeat of the Armada. Hitherto the stage had been crowded with statesmen and warriors, with Cecils, and Walsinghams and Drakes. But from now on the figures of warriors and statesmen were dwarfed by the grandeur figures of Poets and Philosophers. Elizabeth was now giving audience to the chanter of the *Faerie Queen*, the propounder of the *Novum Organum* the builder of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* or the bard of Avon. The whole of England became vocal with music, turned all of a sudden as it were into a vast "nest of singing birds."

Humanism was a remarkable flower of the Renaissance. It made no influence in the first half of the sixteenth century; for, the English language was still immature. But it began to be felt later on, and English literature was influenced by the Italian and French poetry and sonnet.

Surrey created the English *blank verse*—a fortunate imitation of the classical methods. Wyatt also freely assimilated the French and Italian Poetry and introduced the *sonnet* which became perfect in the masterhands of Spenser and Shakespeare. The grammar schools familiarised the yeomen with the masters of Greece and Rome. Chapman's *Homer*, Harrington's *Orlando Furioso*, Fairfax's *Jerusalem*, North's *Plutarch* schooled Shakespeare in ancient history. Boccacio and Bandello translated by Painter and Patrie, Fenton, Whetstone and Rich opened up an avenue to new and stranger realms, revealed new springs of human vision and discovered wide vistas of unfamiliar life.

They gave birth to the wonderful *Prose fiction* which has been immortalised by Lyly and Sidney. They supplied crude materials to the greatest dramatist of the age to mould his *Othello*, his *Romeo and Juliet*, his *Merchant of Venice*. The classical and foreign influence over the literature of this period was great, but it must be said to the credit of the Elizabethan that he was not overpowered by it—he thoroughly assimilated it and ultimately evolved a literature marked by a strong individuality.

The first work of literary merit in the opening years of the queen's reign was *A Myrroure for Magistrates* (1559) from the pen of Thomas Sackville. Indebted for his plan to Boccacio, and machinery to Dante and Virgil, he revealed in it a stately rhythm, and poetic imagery such as was never displayed since Chaucer. Yet more important than this was his second production—the tragedy *Gorboduc* in five acts written and acted in 1561. It was the first regular tragedy in the English tongue.

Hitherto the existence of the *drama*, such as it was, was kept up in the representation of episodes in the Biblical narrative known in the middle ages as the Miracle plays. The eternal struggle between good and evil for the possession of the soul of man was next represented in the "Moralities." The purely religious Moralities were occasionally followed by "Interludes"—homely anecdotes of farcical character often scenically portrayed. There was as yet *no theatre* properly so called, but make-shift devices were held in the church, the palace, the nobleman's hall, the Inns of Court, or the university. There was indeed an attempt for articulate dramatic expression in Nicholas Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister*.

The earliest efficient attempt to familiarise the public with the significance of drama in artistic form was *Gorboduc*. The blank verse employed in it was of great effect. George Gascoigne followed next. It has been said of him that he wrote the first prose tale of modern life, the first prose comedy, the first tragedy translated from the Italian, the first masque, the first regular satire, the first treatise of poetry in English. His comedy, the *Supposes* was derived from Ariosto, his tragedy *Jocasta* from Lodovico Dolce; the *Steepleglass* after Juvenal and Persius. The English presentation of Ariosto's *I Suppositi* showed that prose was the fittest vehicle for the purposes of comedy.

Spenser is the first great master in modern English Poetry. His *Faerie Queene* bestowed on English literature something lost since Chaucer's day. The devotion to the queen and the enthusiasm for the Protestant religion are skilfully treated. Hardly anywhere else in the Elizabethan Poetry does the fervid loyalty of the Elizabethan to the Queen find more exhaustive utterance. Green says: "The very struggle of the men around him is lifted into spiritual one. In the *Faerie Queene* we feel the new life of the coming age moulding into ordered and harmonious form the life of the Renaissance."

The year 1579 was an *annus mirabilis*. In that

year Drake was taking the first English crew across the Pacific, and the English literature of the times reflected the expansion of English knowledge of the world and national activity. Peace at home and the sense of increased security which promoted national growth promoted *national literature*; and patriotic impulse produced Warner's *Albion's England*, Daniel's *History of the Civil Wars*, Drayton's *Heroicall Epistles* as well as a mass of Chronicle Plays and ballads, and prose like Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Stow's *Annals*, Hakluyt's *Navigations*. In this year also was produced the marvellous prose fiction *Euphues*. The didacticism of Lyly soon reappeared in Sydney's *Arcadia*—another great fiction of the age.

The decade 1580-90 was characterised by new outbursts of activity in every direction. Sidney Lee says, "Both comedy and tragedy assumed for the first time in England a distinctive literary garb. Prose acquired dignity and ease. The sonnet and other forms of Lyric Poetry reached a new level of fervour."

What Lyly was doing in the realm of comedy, Marlowe did in the realm of tragedy. He was the first English 'tragic' poet. He was a rebel against precedent. His chief aim was to portray men in tragical pursuit of unattainable ideals. His *Tamburlaine* is ambitious of universal conquest. *Barabas* (in the Jew of Malta) is avaricious of universal wealth. *Faustus* (Dr. Faustus) yearns for omniscience. He first invented a historic episode with tragic sentiment in Edward II. Marlowe influenced Shakespeare profoundly as he did the lesser artists.

Lyrics, in sweetness and melody, appeared in the compositions of Nash, Dekker, and Daniel. *Sonnets* swelled the chorus. Shakespeare's sonnets put a glorious crown on Literature.

Prose kept pace with poetry, and prose works dealing with theology and fiction, travel or social life showed lyrical exuberance of expression. The

towering names in the field of prose were those of Hooker and Bacon. Hooker's *Eccelesiastical Polity*—a monumental work, was a fitting prelude to Bacon's chief philosophical work in English, *The advancement of Learning*. Bacon was a literary artist born and made. In the application of his peculiar gift of criticism and analysis of men and polity, character and conduct he was one of the master writers of his age. His *Essays* are yet unique. Of other prose writers, Nash produced *Unfortunate Traveller*, a prose romance satirising contemporary society.

Shakespeare was a true Elizabethan. His *Love's Labour's Lost* published in 1591 portraying the brilliant England which gathered round Elizabeth, evinced his dramatic and poetic fire, his humorous outlook on life, his insight into human feeling and gave an earnest of his future power. Here he shows he was in tune with the times, sharing delight in sheer living and enjoying the mistakes and adventures of men about him. His 'historical plays' were but the reflection of "the new sense of patriotism, the more vivid sense of national existence, national freedom, national greatness." His political faith is writ largely in them. With him the crown is still the centre and safeguard of national life. "His ideal England is an England grouped round a noble king, such as his own *Henry V.*—devout, modest, simple as he is brave, but a lord in battle, born ruler of men with a loyal people about him, and his enemies at his feet". But the king must above all be strong and just. The fate of lawless despotism is shown in *Richard II.*, of selfish merciless ambition in *Richard III.* His *King John* is a trumpet-call to rally round Elizabeth in her fight for England against the Pope and Spaniard. And to the trumpet call there was a warm response, for Protestants and Catholics alike trooped to the muster of Tilbury so that England might not

"Lie at the proud foot of Conqueror."

The immense popularity of his plays is shown by the Queen's asking the poet to show Falstaff in love

after she was pleased with that character in *Henry IV* which the poet did in his gay *Merry Wives of Windsor*. But his gaiety soon lost itself in deep gloom, the premonitory symptoms of which were already discernible in Jacques in *As You Like It*. His *tragedies* indeed were very complex and showed deeper and deeper knowledge of the working of human passion. Finally the storm and stress of the tragedy yielded place to the placid pathos of *romance viz*, in *Cymbeline*, *The Tempest* and in *Winter's Tale*.

For the materials of his plays Shakespeare had to go to the fount of popular Italian novels. But the magic of his genius transmuted all he touched.

The epitaph on Shakespeare's monument at Stratford-on-Avon laments that "with his death quick Nature died." The justice of the statement is borne out by the history of post-Shakespearean drama of James I's and Charles I's reigns—a tale of degeneracy and decadence. His younger contemporaries indeed tried to keep up the prestige of the drama, but none succeeded. Ben Johnson, the scholar poet, scattered to the winds the Shakespearean cannons. Chapman, the translator of Homer, failed in his tragedies because of his studious research and cynic utterance in them. Fletcher and Beaumont's *The Maid's Tragedy* and *Philaster* furnish abundant evidence of intellectual activity, tendency to over-elaboration, mannerism and low moral tone. Shakespeare's sustained intensity of feeling and his frank outspokenness are lacking. Massinger, Ford, Webster, Shirley kept up only for a while the flickering light of the Shakespearean drama.

The wonderful literature of the Elizabethan era had given birth to a mass of poetry and prose which ranks in literary merit with products of the greatest literary epochs of the world's history. Above all it produced Shakespeare whom the unanimous verdict of all civilized people pronounced to be the greatest of dramatic poets. The Elizabethan era was the golden age of English literature.

7. CHARACTER OF ELIZABETH

Analysis:

Character: Contradictory traits, 'At once the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.'

Courage. Self-Confidence. Pride. Masculine temper.

Passion for splendour and extravagance. Coquetry. Unemotional. Diplomatic. Lying. Indecisive.

Policy—of Peace, no War. Dissimulation.

—of Caution and drift.

—of *Via media* in religion and foreign affairs.

—of thrift and economy.

Character

Queen Elizabeth I was the greatest among the Tudor monarchs. She reigned gloriously for about half a century and exhibited traits of character which are noble, magnificent and adorable. To the world about her she appeared a strange compound of antithetical virtues. Green very aptly expresses this strange mixture by saying that "*she was at once the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.*" Her hearty frankness, love of popularity, dauntless courage and amazing self-confidence, her pride, masculine temper, voice and fits of anger, she inherited from her Tudor father. To this harshness was wedded a sensuous and self-indulgent nature. Her passion for splendour and gorgeous pageants, gaiety and laughter, she drew from her mother.

Love of extravagance

She loved to move in perpetual progresses from county to county. She had a great fondness for jewels and dresses and it was said that on her death her wardrobe was found to contain three thousand gowns made of the richest materials. Her character was utterly without any shade. She could, with an equal absence of womanly delicacy, flirt with a man old enough to be her father or young enough to be her son. Her vanity, coquetry, frivolity and love of the grossest flattery persisted in her till death. If she had more than a feminine appetite for admiration, she had no emotion, no depth of feeling. Beesly says "with Elizabeth the heart never really spoke and if the senses did, she had them under perfect control and

this is why she never loved nor was loved." But frivolity and triviality contained beneath their surface a temper hard as steel, purely intellectual, a type of reason untouched by imagination or passion.

A cool Politician

She was the coolest and the hardest of politicians at the Council Board. Her quick eyes for merit enabled her to select precisely the right man for the work. In one word, she was remarkably cool, rational, unemotional, mercantile in spirit, parsimonious, without a touch of finer feeling, as for example, gratitude. She was unmoved by love or hate, perfectly self-possessed and dauntlessly courageous. She was a perfect mistress of the art of lying and had trodden the labyrinthine mazes of all possible by-ways and crooked ways. But her mendacity, her vanity and affectation, her fickleness and caprice were all turned to good account—to some political triumph. Creighton in contrasting the characters of Elizabeth and Mary says that the former "lied, plotted and quibbled, but it was to gain, at the least possible cost to her people, some object which were for people's good. Elizabeth was identified in her interests with the nation over which he ruled and though she might at times be capricious yet in the end her sense of duty prevailed over her purely personal desires."

In administering her duties by the people, she showed determination and strength of character and soundness of policies. Green says that her policy was not broad, large or ambitious but narrow and limited. Nevertheless it was simple, direct, and eminently practical. Her aims were to preserve the throne, to keep England out of war and to restore civil and religious order. It was formed independently of her ministers and pursued with womanly wariness, timidity and pertinacity and was amazingly successful. It was cautious, selfish and ungenerous.

Creighton says, "Her policy was not noble nor magnanimous, but with an impoverished kingdom, a ruined navy, a feeble army and insecure position,

noble policy was impossible. She was content to raise hopes and balance parties against one another. With scanty means at her command she yet succeeded in guiding England safely through the dangers which threatened it on every side".

Beesly, referring to the inaction of Elizabeth when Mary, Queen of Scots, escaped from Loch Leven (1568) and came to England, remarks "For ten years she had governed successfully because she managed to hold an even course between conflicting principles and parties and to avoid taking up a decisive attitude on the most burning questions. The very indecision which was the weakest spot in her character and which so fretted her ministers had, it must be confessed, contributed something to the result. Cecil might groan over a policy of letting things drift. To do nothing is not indeed the golden rule of statesmanship. But at that time England's peculiar position between France and Spain and between Calvinism and Catholicism enabled her to play a waiting game. This was the general rule applicable to the situation. The policy was safe. It was cheap. It required coolness and intrepidity,—qualities, with which Elizabeth was furnished."

Love of extravagance

She was averse to war and liked peace, because the latter offered her the opportunity of displaying her skill in diplomatic manœuvres, in mystifications of foreign statesmen and even her own, in intrigues and stunning falsehoods all employed for gaining time which she utilized for benefitting England. Elizabeth could wait and finesse, but when the hour was come she could strike and strike hard. Creighton says, "She was averse to war because it cost money, and because the war broke off the opportunity for diplomacy in which she thought she excelled. But her motive was very greatly a generous feeling for her people and a true instinct for the national wants". "No war, my Lords" she would often exclaim at the Council striking the table with her fist, "No war" and the resolve of hers often checked the great schemes of her aspiring ministers and enabled England

to grow into its necessary strength. She felt no sympathy with the Netherlands in their struggle with Philip. Their miseries in no way appealed to her generosity. She drew out of their misfortunes all the commercial advantages she could to England."

Love for economy

The first difficulties of her situation at the time of her accession taught her economy which soon degenerated into stinginess. She took presents unblushingly without ever thinking of making any return. She made capital of the troubles of the French and Netherlandish Huguenots and took good security before helping them. In fact she sold help. The goods of her favourite Leicester were not too sacred for attachment. She practised economy strictly to avoid the meeting of her rebellious Parliaments pressing for her marriage and the settlement of succession.

8. MINISTERS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Analysis :

- I. Elizabeth's character and temper Queen's ability to draw the best of views and advice of ministers.

II. Ministers .

1. William Cecil, Lord Burleigh
Faithful. Strong and unvacillating. Calm and Wise.
'Sprit' and 'Oracle' of Elizabeth.
Disliked war, Fond of diplomacy. Secret Service
Unscrupulous.
2. Sir Robert Cecil
Like father, like son.
3. Sir Nicholas Bacon
Unlike William Cecil, direct and plain. Of sound commonsense Averse to shiftiness. Of literary tastes.
4. Sir Francis Walsingham
Puritan. Lover of righteousness. Hater of inequity.
Outspoken Secret service like Cecil's
Advocate of war policy. Inimical to Mary.
Favoured maritime activities and settlements.

The reign of Elizabeth was full of problems, and yet it was a success. That was due, to a great extent, to the abilities of her ministers. She was a queen with exceptional abilities to draw full value from the

capacities of her ministers, Burleigh with patient commonsense, Walsingham with keen penetration and Nicholas Bacon with solid shrewdness.

William Cecil, Lord Burleigh (1520-98)

Cecil was the son of a country gentleman of Lincolnshire and educated at Cambridge. He became a barrister. He was the Chief Minister of the Queen. Born in 1520 he began his political career under Henry VIII. Protector Somerset had made him Secretary of State. On the fall of his patron he was sent to the Tower, but was restored to office in 1550. He had walked warily always keeping on the safe side of law. He did not risk his neck by mixing in the Northumberland plot, and lived in peace by conforming to the Catholic religion. This shows that he subordinated religious convictions to political expediency.

He was secretly attached to Elizabeth's cause and helped her with wise counsels. On her accession she made him secretary. He never betrayed confidences; he was not to be bought nor was he to be frightened. In view of his great quality of faithfulness, the queen said to him; "I know that you will not be corrupted with any gift and that you will be faithful to the state, you will give me that counsel you think best without respect of my private will."

He was her mainstay in both Home and Foreign affairs. Conscious of her own weakness and vacillation, she leant upon the strong man to keep her straight. There was scarcely any personal or public topic about which the queen failed to ask his opinion. He was her "spirit" and her "oracle". His calm and deliberate wisdom seemed to her to be the expression of her higher self. His plans might be occasionally modified, but he always retained her confidence.

His foreign policy governed England. Like the Queen he disliked war and had unbounded faith in the virtues of diplomatic intrigues. He created and maintained an enormous secret service. His spies were everywhere in Europe, and no Catholic plot in

Paris, Rome, Madrid or at home escaped his notice. The system of espionage was perfected by Sir Francis Walsingham. In 1564 he was created Lord Treasurer. He was a Protestant policy. He was wary, cautious, dissembling, and cynical. Like the queen he employed his deceits for the benefit of his country. His fidelity to her was profound. He was created Lord Burleigh in 1571. He held the office of Secretary of State till his death in 1598.

Sir Robert Cecil

In 1596, two years before the death of Lord Burleigh, his son Sir Robert Cecil was appointed Secretary of State and on his death stepped into his shoes. He was wary and cautious like his father, but was more alert in thought and speech.

Sir Nicholas Bacon (1599-1679)

He was the friend and brother-in-law of Cecil, and father of Sir Francis Bacon. He was the Keeper of the Great Seal (Lord Keeper), Cecil and Bacon "protestantised the bench of bishops" and were determined to make the queen take the Protestant side. Unlike Cecil, he was direct and plain, of sound common sense, and steadied by his straightforwardness the shifty policy of his colleague. He was more serious and thoughtful, more steadfast and dignified than his relative. He was a man of literary tastes and of refined mind.

Sir Francis Walsingham (1560-1630)

He is first seen in the capacity of English ambassador in Paris and trying his best to push the negotiations for the Duke of Anjou's marriage with Elizabeth. In his hatred of Spain, he was for the Anglo-French alliance which he meant to utilise for the reduction of Spain, liberation of the Dutch and the glorification of Puritanism. To Mary Stuart he was a relentless enemy. He was a sincere Puritan, a lover of righteousness, a hater of inequity, and scrupulously honest. Though very loyal, he was outspoken enough to anger Elizabeth by his open disapproval of her political double-dealing. He had

the faults of a Puritan. He could connive at the murder of D' Aubigny ; his secret service was as unscrupulous as Cecil's. He employed the rack and the boot to extort true information from recalcitrant persons for the unravelment of plots endangering the public weal.

He was an advocate of war policy unlike Cecil, who was averse to war. He was ready to fight Spain in the cause of the Religion which was a real factor to him. With Drake and Raleigh he burned to prostrate Spain and her naval power and plant English Colonies in direct competition with hers. He died in 1590. Of his high personal integrity the final proof is that he left means insufficient to provide a decent funeral.

9. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND POLICIES IN ELIZABETHAN AGE

Analysis :

Economic problems related to.

Agriculture—Enclosure movement, pasturage, liberated serfs, evictions.

Beggary—problem of unemployment, vagabondage.

Poor Relief—Poor Law of 1601 . Responsibilities of J. P.'S and Overseers.

Industries—Gilds, Statute of Artificers, Clothier and Domestic System, Beginning of Factory System.

Wages—Abandonment of uniform wages.

Food supply—Beginning of Corn Law.

Coinage—Debased coins removed by recoinage.

Mercantile transactions—Foreign trade, foreign exchange, banking and interest.

Problems

Though the reign of Elizabeth was in many ways glorious, it had been a bad time from the economic point of view. There were quite a number of economic ills during her reign, and she tried to remove them by legislation. The Tudor monarch took a paternal attitude, a desire to deal by legislation with every economic or social evil that manifested itself,

The root and ground of trouble was the *agrarian revolution*. The medieval manorial system was out of date. England had now become a land of small tenant farmers and copyholders under great landlords. With the decline of manorial system and the growth of wool trade necessitating pasturages the serfs were liberated, and more and more pasture farms were created.

Pasturages required enclosures. Waste and common lands were enclosed for sheep farmers. The prosperous tenant began to lay farm to farm and to count his sheep by thousands. The landlord seized commons or turned an open field into a park; rich men evicted the poor when their legal status or their poverty permitted. Whole estates which has been used for arable farming became mere sheepspruns, supervised by 'one poor shepherd and his dog.' More and Latimer denounced the enclosure movement for its impoverishing effects. It was a boon to the sheep farmers for a variety of reasons. But it left a trail of woes. The evicted small owner almost inevitably joined the ranks of vagabonds and beggars or sank into hopeless poverty. Villagers evicted by enclosures or liberated from serfdom were driven to leave their villages and flock to the town in quest of service. They swelled the number of the un-engaged and completed the tale of their misery. Poverty attended with unemployment was the real problem of the time.

Attempts were made to solve this problem. The remedy came in 1601 when an *Act for the Relief of the Poor* was passed. It was a remarkable achievement of the reign of Elizabeth; for it successfully tackled the social and economic problem of pauperism, beggary and vagabondage which was very disquieting to England.

In the earlier part of her reign Elizabeth endeavoured, with the advice of Burghley, to tackle the problem by introducing '*compulsion to contribute*' (1563), by *levying a rate* by the new

parish officers called the "Overseers" (1572), by setting up a 'house of correction' in every Shire, where able-bodied and true poor alike would be set on work (1576). But the Poor Law of 1601 was an improvement upon the old laws* in many respects. It was based on a few principles which ultimately became the kernel of the Poor Law legislations for the next two hundred years. It recognised the *principle of local responsibility* for local distress. It was upheld that *independence was better than relief*. Parents and children, if able, were legally bound to support each other. It sought to define *distinction between a pauper and a vagabond* and upheld, '*relief measures as necessary cure*' for the problem. And for this the principle of *regular local taxation* for the relief of the poor was drawn upon.

The chief features of this Act 43 of Elizabeth were :

(1) the justices of the Peace in the county and the Mayors in the towns were to register the impotent poor, to settle them in adequate habitations and to tax all inhabitants for support,

**Brief history of Poor Laws* : In pre-Norman times, the relief of the poor was in the hands of the church, and the state indirectly helped the relief by legally enforcing the payment of 'tithes' to the church. Ethelred directed one-third of the tithe to be applied to poor relief. But the Church gave aims indiscriminately and it fostered vagabond mendicacy. Statutes were enacted to repress it. The statutes of labourers (1349, 1351), forbade giving of alms to the able-bodied poor, prohibited labourers from changing their residence and a rise in price of goods. Begging was regulated by a statute of Richard II.

Henry VIII's statutes were severe. All beggars and vagrants were to go to the place of their birth. Impotent poor men were to get a licence for begging. All cities, towns and parishes were to maintain their aged and impotent poor by voluntary alms and set the able-bodied to work. 'Sturdy' beggars refusing to work were to be punished, or whipped. By the suppression of monasteries in 1536 and 1539 the chief support of vagrant mendicacy was withdrawn. A statute provided relief for the poor. Church wardens make voluntary collections were out on Sundays.

There was no compulsion in laws of Edward VI and Elizabeth became increasingly stringent. Edward VI branded beggars as slaves.

(2) overseers were appointed by each parish to look after its own poor, to apply the poor-rate on the whole neighbourhood, to provide work for the able-bodied poor, to relieve the impotent poor, to apprentice the poor children, to erect 'houses of dwelling' for the improvident poor,

(3) houses of correction were set up in every country for obstinate vagabonds and paupers.

Results

The results were far too quieting. Vagrancy and mendicancy were reduced, almost stamped out in one generation. Alms-houses and charitable endowments were set up in large numbers. A great number of poor folk received relief in their own homes. Plenty of spinning schools for poor children maintained a large number of them. The crimes due to vagabonds and-beggars declined to a minimum.

It enunciated at least two broad principles which were the bed-rock of future poor-laws, viz. that (a) relief was a public duty, and (b) work must be found for the workers.

Changes in Industries

During the reign of the queen there were great changes in industries. The woollen manufacture was making a rapid advance. Spinning, weaving, fueling and dyeing of cloth flourished on farms and in villages. Heretofore industries were under the *control of gilds*. But about this time gilds or societies were weakened, and so these trades migrated to country districts, being forced from the too rigid regulations of the gilds.

There grew up a tendency to concentrate looms and develop an embryo factory system on capitalistic pattern by a few rich people. A *legislation* was necessary to check this tendency and enact that none should own more than two looms, and help develop a 'clothier' or 'domestic' system. The pattern was that cloth was manufactured in the homes of the employed. The cloth trade received a great fillip in the days of Elizabeth; and so a large number of

people, thrown off by the enclosure movement, could maintain themselves by the cottage industries of cloth, linen and wool,

But the finished goods were not always good. In order that the English cloth trade and other industries might not suffer expansion and good markets, it was felt necessary to regulate it by the *Statute of Artificers* (1563). It ordered that nobody should work at a trade, either in town or country, unless he had been *an apprentice for seven years*. During this period an apprentice could master the technical know-how of an industry. Every man or boy, over twelve and under sixty, was to work in some way or other, and if he had no other trade he was to work as a labourer on the land. The net result of this statute was remarkably satisfactory. It satisfied nearly everybody. The employers and workers seemed to have been fairly treated. English workmen became highly skilled and the goods they produced were among the best in the world.

Wages

With the rise in prices, *the fixed wages* were found to be too low for the living. The effective wage earned tended to drop. The problem of poverty persisted. Ever since 1350 the Statutes of Labourers had fixed wages. To solve the wage problem the old labour legislation was changed in 1598: and the new Statute of Artificers abandoned uniformity of wages and ordered the J. P.'s (Justices of the Peace) to fix local rates yearly. The device was only to tackle the problem of poverty temporarily and to maintain the balance in a triangular tension of economic prosperity rising prices and growing poverty. It had offered benefits for the time being.

Food supply

Another problem that constantly teased the Tudor Statesmen of the age was the *problem of food supply*. There were years of distress owing to bad harvests and decline in arable lands owing to enclosures. The price of corn often shot up owing to debased coinage and influx of bullion. The arm of government was

also there to tackle it. It was enacted that corn might not be exported if the home price rose to over 10s a quarter ; and the council intervened to fix prices or increase supply. Import of foreign corn was also prohibited when the price was below a certain minimum level.

Currency

The most complex economic problem that faced Elizabeth was the problem of rehabilitation of finances and of the national credit. The coins were debased in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. The debased coinage had stunning effects on the export trade and the cloth trade was going to be suspended. It hit hard all the classes except the landed gentry. To remedy this evil, all the inferior coinage minted since 1543 was called in, and new coins were issued at their face value. This had the desired effect of restoring credit of Elizabeth. As an immediate consequence the government was able to borrow at reasonable rate of interest.

Trade problems

The reign had a number of mercantile and financial problems too. They reacted on the social and economic prosperity of the country. These problems may be generally termed as those of "*Mercantilism*", in other words, economic Nationalism of self-contained and aggressive nature.

The mercantilists advocated a very vigorous policy in trade. The Tudor monarchs wanted to control it. In order that English trade may not be thwarted by foreign trading companies, Elizabeth forbade them to trade in England. The Hanseatic League and trading companies of Venice were served with restrictive orders. The queen also fostered the growth of a number of 'Chartered' and 'Regulated' companies with conferment of monopoly rights. But for her royal intervention in and favours shown to these companies, English trade would not have been as much successful as then.

With the increase of trade was connected the rise of international money market at Antwerp. International banking had grown up there. When Antwerp fell, it reacted adversely against England's finance. Gresham now shifted the Exchange to London in 1571. The *Royal Exchange* had the effect of steadying English trade in foreign countries. England was badly in need of a system of banking which would obviate the need of usurious money-lenders then obtaining. The rate of interest was fixed by legislation. Alongside there were the intricacies of *foreign exchanges* which affected the currency of the country. Gresham took to himself much credit for manipulating the exchanges and the recoinage of Elizabeth helped to improve the situation. In these ways, the long arm of law and legislation helped the people to tide over the economic problems during the reign of Elizabeth who took a motherly care in the economic improvement of her people and in the relief of their distress.

THE STUART PERIOD

1603-1714

EARLIER STUARTS

JAMES I	1603-25
CHARLES I	1625-49
<i>COMMONWEALTH</i>	<i>1649-53</i>
<i>PROTECTORATE</i>	<i>1653-60</i>

LATER STUARTS

CHARLES II	1660-85
JAMES II	1685-88
MARY	1689-94
WILLIAM III	1689-1702
ANNE	1702-14

JAMES I, 1603-1625 (22 YEARS)

Born 1566, married 1589, Anne of Denmark

Chief Characters of the Reign

Sir Walter Raleigh; Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; Gatesby; Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset; George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham; Sir Francis Bacon; Edward Coke; John Seldon; John Pym.

Chief Contemporary Princes

France	Spain
Henry IV d. 1610	Philip III d. 1621
Louis XIII d. 1643	Philip IV, d. 1665

1. THE STUART AGE BEGINS : THE YEAR 1603

Analysis :

The Stuart Age begins

1. Union of two crowns of England and Scotland.
2. Reign of an experienced king.
3. Constitutional conflict between King and Parliament.
4. Postponed problems of Elizabeth came up for solutions.

The Year 1603; The year 1603 marks a real epoch in English history in many respects.

Firstly, the accession of James I as king of England, who was at once James VI of Scotland united in one person the two crowns. This *union of two crowns* had far-reaching effects. England was not to apprehend internal troubles to the claim of throne from Scottish corners. The northern borders were eliminated. There came a change in foreign policies. Spain was no longer to be feared. England had no concern any longer over Franco-Scottish alliances

Secondly, the English throne now claimed after a long time '*an old and experienced king.*' Hitherto no king of full age had sat on the throne for the last sixty years. The ascendancy of immature monarchs had left peculiar traits in the foregoing reigns owing to

immaturity or emotionalism of monarchs. Mature and fixed ideas came to play an important role in the relationship between James I and his parliaments.

Thirdly, the first Stuart Kings had to encounter the growth of puritanism, a strong national character of the people—all exhibited through their *constitutional conflict with the parliaments*. The struggle was, in the main, a battle for sovereignty. The Stuarts were not satisfied with the practical despotism of the Tudors, but wanted to theorise it and based the claim of royal power upon what it called the 'Divine Right of Kingship'. This conflict had resulted in the execution of one king and exile of another and ultimate transfer of power to the parliament.

Fourthly, the reign of Elizabeth marked a watershed in English history. Her government had a number of problems which she evaded or postponed but these *postponed problems* of religion, economic life, foreign policy and Ireland—the sum of which had posed as a deeper problem of sovereignty—came by the way of the Stuarts and they had no alternative but to grapple these according to their own views and talents.

2. JAMES I'S CLAIM AND CHARACTER

Analysis :

I Claim to throne : Based on (1) Lineal descent (2) Elizabeth's dying recommendation and (3) Act of Parliament.

II Character : Scholarly, kindhearted and pedantic. Lover of peace. Indolent, indecisive and foolish. Unsympathetic to English ideas.

Claim to throne

James I was the first of the Stuart sovereigns, a family who, with the exception of the Commonwealth from 1649 to 1660, reigned in England for one hundred and eleven years.

James I was the son of Mary, Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley and was thus the great grandson of Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. His claim to the throne was based on the right of descent. Besides lineal descent there was Elizabeth's dying recommendation, which, though of no legal value, had

immense political weight when she heard that Seymour's name was put forward by one of the group around her death-bed, she burst out—"my seat has been the seat of kings, and I will have no rascal to succeed me." James I, on assuming the crown of England by hereditary right, confirmed it by an Act of Parliament.

Character of James I

James I became King of England when he was thirty-seven. He was already the King of Scotland. His experiences in Scotland had modified his learning and character. As a man he was well-meaning, kind-hearted, good-natured, often timid and easily influenced by favourites. He was a good rider and a mighty hunter and had a shapely body. He was scholarly but pedantic; and possessed of a glib tongue he was fond of displaying learning and pet ideas of the 'Divine Right of Kings' on every possible occasion. He was exceptionally well-informed especially in theology. He was humorous but shrewd. He was a man of larger ideas, but in practice was always meaner than Elizabeth's. In comparison to Elizabeth, his character was infinitely a smaller one. Where Elizabeth was careful, he was profuse. She ruled by the intellect but he by affection, which he gave not to public servants but to favourites. He took opposition as an insult, and tyrannised where he dared. In an age of war, he was for *Beat pacifici*, and in age of persecution he was in favour of toleration and desired a cessation of religious controversy.

But the defects in his character counter-balanced his virtues. He was ungainly in his bearing with rickety legs. As a Scot, brought up in Scotland and in the midst of scheming nobles and churchmen who soured his mind and views, he was entirely ignorant of the views and behaviour of the Englishmen whom he came to rule. Much of his differences with Parliament and people was due to it. He was indolent, ease-loving and unwilling to think out details. He was indecisive, slow and tactless. His ideas were vague and formless. He was conceited and fond of

flattery. He had no capacity, inspite of his wisdom, to deal tactfully with men and matters of his age. He was precisely what a contemporary French Minister Sully had spoken about him—"the wisest fool in Christendom."

3. RELIGIOUS POLICY OF JAMES I

Analysis :

James I tolerant and unpersecuting

Three Religious parties—Puritans, Catholics and Anglicans.

The first two parties wanted to establish their influences.

Puritans submitted Millenary Petition which was discussed in Hampton Court Conference Break up of Conference. Results. Ultimate conflict with Parliament.

James I decided in favour of status quo Elizabethan system and bishops. His utterance : 'No Bishop, no King' Views & thereby.

Catholics against James I. Conspired plots. The Gunpowder Plot Laws against Catholics made severe.

James I inherited the problem of religion which was averted by Elizabeth. She gave a religious settlement which was acceded to by a majority of Englishmen, but still there were differences. The Tudors had brought, at least officially, Protestantism to England. In Scotland its roots struck deeply; and after Mary Stuart's flight to Scotland England turned Presbyterian. In England there were the Puritans and the Roman Catholics. The middle course religious policy of Elizabeth was to show favour neither to the Puritans nor to the Roman Catholics, but to uphold Episcopacy or the church system with bishops. The two extremists of the Puritans and the Roman Catholics were therefore not satisfied with the Elizabethan system.

When James I ascended the throne he noticed that three religious parties had existed among the people, but showed tendencies only to continue the religious policy of Elizabeth. This was a surprise to the Puritans and the Roman Catholics. For they had both expected that James I would treat them better than Elizabeth had done. Contrary to their expectations he proved to be as hard to them as the queen.

The Puritans *expected* that James I would be lenient to them; for, he had been brought up as a Presbyterian in Scotland; and puritanism was more akin to Presbyterianism. Similarly, the Roman Catholics had *expected* that in respect for his mother Mary Stuart's memory the new King would treat them kindly and would perhaps restore England's connection with the Pope of Rome.

But both the parties were disappointed when James I showed as much love of bishops and surplices as Elizabeth had done; in other words, he decided to follow the church system of Elizabeth.

The reasons behind his decision were these.

In the *first place*, he was not inclined to Roman Catholicism because, any increase in influence or number of the followers of the Pope would tend to reduce the king's power as Head of the church.

Secondly, he disliked Puritanism; because, he had seen much of it in Scotland and developed a dislike for it. In the Presbyterian church—the Kirk of Scotland—the clergy exercised more authority, in a sense, than the king. The king was of no more importance than an ordinary man. The ministers of the Kirk used to say very harsh things in their sermons, even about the king; as a matter of fact, one of them told James to his face that he was 'God's silly vassal.' He also apprehended that the Puritan church, being of democratic character, might pave the way for a democratic state; and that it could be easily possible to bring about such a pass, as most of the members of Parliament were Puritans, whose numbers in the country were also quite large.

Thirdly, having analysed the state of religious affairs James I came to the conclusion that the Episcopacy of Elizabeth was the best possible via media. In England he was the Head of the Church of England whose bishops and clergy treated him with deep respect. He upheld the clear-cut view—"No bishop, no king." He felt that if once the authority of the bishops was overthrown, that of the monarchy itself would be threatened.

Fourthly, the decision of James I in favour of Elizabethan system was in conformity with his exalted belief in the Divine Rights of the King. He declared at Hampton Court that 'bishops like kings were set over the multitude by the hand of God'. With such set religious views James I had come to the throne of England. As the people had grown tendencies to assert themselves from the days of Elizabeth, they now came to discuss openly their own views against those of the king, and posed many difficulties to the king.

Religious difficulties and reforms

When James I became king the religious malcontents, mostly Puritans wished to make the church a little more Protestant. They regarded the Reformation as only half completed. The church was no longer under the Pope, but in its form it was still episcopal with three hierarchy of bishops, priests and deacons, and in its doctrines it retained the old ceremonials. Puritans wanted change in these respects.

In doctrines they wanted the church to follow Calvinism. They wanted abolition of many ceremonials. They disliked howling at the name of Jesus, making the sign of the cross in Baptism, kneeling to receive communion, the ring in Matrimony and so forth. They wanted abolition of all robes for the clergy and of bishops.

As against the Puritans, there were groups of the Arminian, followers of Arminius, in the church. They were Catholic in belief, but did not like the papal authority. They were definitely opposed to the Puritans and their proposals of reforms. They favoured retention of medieval ceremonies. And they clearly held that the church would cease to be a church at all if the bishops had gone.

Both the parties had their own ideas about religious reforms.

James I and Puritans

Millenary Petition, 1603; The Puritans had, in their zeal for religious reform, presented to James I a

petition, known as the Millenary Petition, while he was on his way to London. In it about a thousand clergymen asked for the reform of certain ceremonies and abuses in the church, a simpler ritual than Elizabeth had required, a new translation of the Bible, and the reform of the ecclesiastical courts.

Hampton Court Conference: James I did not answer the petition forthwith, but called a conference at Hampton Court Palace to consider the Puritan requests. This conference was held in January, 1604. It included high dignitaries and the leading Puritan ministers of the church. A number of bishops were also invited to the conference. The king was present in the conference. James practically came to an understanding with the dignitaries before the public proceedings began. A few alterations were made in the Prayer Book, a new translation of the Bible was agreed on and nearly everything they asked was refused.

Although the Millenary Petition had not mentioned the abolition of bishops, one of the members (Reynolds) at the conference referred to it and to prophesyings and a bishop's synod 'with his presbyters'. The moment the king heard the word 'presbytery', he flared up uneasily and it woke in James's mind the memory of how he was in Scotland, a land of Presbyterianism, a king without state, without honour, without order. He burst out that 'presbytery as well agreeth with a monarchy as God with the Devil'. He would not agree to the abolition of bishops and affirmatively exclaimed "No Bishop, no King." He further added in the conference that bishops like kings were set over the multitude by the hand of God, and as the puritans would do away with bishops, he would make them conform or 'harry them out of the land.' From this time onwards, he insisted on conformity and deprived many clergymen of their offices for refusal to subscribe to regulations.

Effects of the Conference: The Hampton Court Conference was important from many aspects. From

the point of view of proceedings, the conference could ensure the translation of the Bible, known as the Authorised Version, which remained without alteration for nearly three hundred years. It was the only positive result, but other issues of the proceedings were mostly in the negative.

The Conference had, however, effected a politico-ecclesiastical alliance between the kingship and the Episcopate. The Puritans were always against the order of bishops and Arch-bishops and even they would challenge the king's view of Divine authority of kings and Bishops. The English king was the Head of the Church and the State. So James I rallied round him the bishops who would support him morally, and the king would give the Bishops material support against the onslaughts of the Puritans and other orders. In 1604 Bancroft's convocation drew up *Canons* which maintained inter alia that the Episcopate was not merely an emanation of the Royal Supremacy, but was, like the kingship itself, a Divine institution.

The alliance between the king and Bishops made the puritans inimical to the king. It evoked a feud between them and cost the blood and tears of three generations and ultimately transferred the sovereign power from king to Parliament. The Puritans henceforth diverted their energies against the Royal Supremacy and Royal Prerogative in the Parliament. In each successive session the Commons, mostly composed of the Puritans, challenged the powers of the Church courts or the right of king and Convocations to pass canons binding the laity and many other ticklish points were raised. In a word, the Hampton Court Conference excited the conflict between the king and the Puritans that gained momentum as years rolled on.

James I and the Catholics

When James I became King, Roman Catholics hoped that in lieu of their loyalty the king would permit them to worship in peace and not persecute them for recusancy. But the Jesuit priests had no

such hopes. They thought that the only way to have religious freedom was to set up a Roman Catholic king. In the early years of his reign James I was tolerant towards the Roman Catholics, and relaxed the penal laws against them. He remitted the recusancy fines. But his leniency was misread and the number of absentees from Church attendance increased. The Catholics were forbidden by the Pope to owe allegiance to this heretical king. The Jesuits wrote pamphlets against the king's right to the throne. James took alarm at this and re-enforced the recusancy fines and banished the priests.

Despairing of making their position better by fair means, the Catholics planned plots to depose James. Lord Cobham conspired a plan to put Arabella Stuart, niece of Darnley, on the throne, but it failed. Next Waston, a Roman Catholic priest, hatched a plot to seize the king in order to force him to grant religious toleration to the Catholics. This plot also ended in failure. Despaired of getting religious toleration, the Catholics hatched a bolder plot to blow up with gunpowder the king and parliament together (1605). The plotters headed by Robert Catesby intended to make James's little daughter Elizabeth, queen. The plot failed. After the Gunpowder Plot most Englishmen distrusted the Roman Catholics, and the laws against the Catholics were made very severe.

4. FOREIGN POLICY OF JAMES I

Analysis :

State of Affairs at beginning of Reign

Europe on the throes of Thirty Years' War, Spain declining;
Rise of Dutch Power. Growth of France as an Absolutist Power.

James's Policy :

In favour of Peace, because temperamentally he loved peace, intellectually he had confidence in diplomatic ability, and objectively he was financially handicapped to carry on war.

Aim . To be Peace-Maker of Europe.

Relations with Spain :

- (1) Peace with Spain, 1604.
Terms of Treaty : Favourable to England.
Success of James.

- (II) War threat between France and Spain
Henry of France assassinated War averted.
 - (III) Thirty Years' War . Frederick, son-in-law of James I driven out of Palatinate by Catholics and Spain. James tried to stop the war by inducing Spain to withdraw. He did not send aid to Frederick lest Spain should get annoyed and disagree to marriage proposals between Charles and the Infanta.
 - (IV) War declared against Spain. 1624. Failure due to mismanagements.
- Review of Spanish Policy ;
Initial success and later failure of Peace Policy.
Thirty Years' War—a rude shock to James's ambition to be peacemaker.

Reasons of failure.

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE.

Henry IV. though a Catholic, wanted to be free from the stranglehold of Catholic powers—Spain and the Empire. Alliance of Protestant powers like the Dutch, German Protestant Princes and England against Catholic powers. A war threatened. Henry assassinated
James's Scope for negotiation and mediation lost. Failure of Policy.

RELATIONS WITH SCOTLAND

James desired complete union of Scotland and England.
Opposition of Parliament.

RELATIONS WITH IRELAND.

Plantation of Ulster province,

COLONISATION AND TRADE.

Growth of colonies . Efforts of Plymouth Company. London Company. Sir Walter Raleigh. Mayflower Pilgrims

Growth of Trading Companies . East India Company in India and Far East.

European Polity at James's accession

When James I ascended the throne, the canvas of European polity was like this. The whole of Europe was in a process of preparations for a great religious war ;—soon afterwards, however, Thirty Years' War (1618-48) broke out as a result. Spain was declining in power, largely because of her restrictive commercial policies and regulations, her loss of the Netherlands, her inefficient government, and her loss of influence over the seas. On the other hand, the Dutch were rising to the zenith of their sea power, and coming out

to be strong commercial rivals of the English. France was developing an absolutist divine-right monarchy and becoming one of the most powerful nations of Europe. She supplanted the Spanish hegemony over European state-system. The religious configuration was thus. Spain was Catholic, but Protestantism was victorious in the Netherlands and England, and the French were a nation of Catholics and the Huguenots. Great Britain was still the 'Little England of Elizabethan days, but Spain or France were mighty empires territorially. England had two parties, one for continuance of war and the other for pursuing a policy of peace.

James's Foreign Policies

James I had an aversion towards war. Temperamentally he was peace-loving. Other considerations like lack of finance and the awareness that peace suited England the best were responsible for his peace policy. He had, in addition, an innate confidence in his diplomatic ability. He believed that he could gain more by diplomacy than by war. Perhaps he was justified in holding such a belief. For, the gains from war are not always great and are not nearly so certain as its losses. In an atmosphere surcharged with religious, political and colonial animosities, James I wanted to be the *peace-maker of Europe*. His idea was that by forming an alliance with a Catholic as well as with a Protestant power he could be able to maintain peace in Europe. He started his foreign relations with a *peace policy*. He rightly thought that his foreign policy ought not to be influenced by religion.

(1) Relations with Spain

With this end in view he took steps to end the Spanish war which was proceeding at his accession. He was also advised by his minister, Earl of Salisbury, to keep England out of foreign entanglements. A treaty was made with the king of Spain in 1604. In terms of this treaty James gained much. Spain promised to protect English protestants visiting Spain

revive their trade with Burgundy. England retained her right to help the Dutch against Spain, and her claim to trade with Spanish Colonies. These favourable terms amply justified the boast of James I that he could gain more by diplomacy than by war.

Obviously the anti Spanish policy of late Elizabethan days were reversed by this treaty of peace. However, it did not mean immediate real friendship with Spain. For, James I maintained friendly relations with Henry of Navarre. Moreover, he married his daughter Elizabeth to Frederick Elector Palatine.

Spain had watched the moves of James I. She created a Spanish party in the English Court. James wanted to strengthen the alliance between the two countries by marrying Prince Henry to a Spanish princess. Ultimately, however, the proposal was abandoned when Henry refused to marry a Roman Catholic

After 1613, James fell under the influence of the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, who was a very crafty diplomat. He tried to wean England from the protestant forces in Germany and secure her aid in the coming religious war there. Gondomar proposed the marriage of prince Charles and the Infanta Maria. James agreed. But the protestants in England hated the idea of their future king marrying a Roman Catholic. There were so many difficulties in arranging the match that years passed away, and the negotiations seemed likely to last indefinitely.

Soon thereafter in 1618 the Thirty Years' War broke out in Germany and England became involved on the side of James's son in law, Frederick of the Palatinate. The Catholic Hapsburg rulers of Germany drove Frederick from the Palatinate. James I was in an awkward position. The people and parliamentarians of England regarded the safety of the Palatinate as a symbolic of the protestant cause. But James I gave his son-in-law no help for fear of breach with Spain. On the contrary he thought out a novel plan to settle the dispute by which he hoped

to keep Spain in good humour and utilise the influence of Spain as the means of procuring the restoration of Frederick. According to him, Prince Charles should be married to the Spanish Infanta Maria and the Infanta should bring the Palatinate as the dowry. Then James would restore this territory to his son-in-law. However, the more eager James was the less eager were the Spaniards. After years of waiting prince Charles grew impatient. He started off to Spain with Buckingham in order to woo the princess in person. But the Spaniards demanded that the princess could not be given in marriage unless Catholics in England are given more liberty and Charles turned a Catholic. In a great rage Charles returned to England and forced his father to change his policy and go to war with the treacherous Spaniards. The people of England also liked the war against Spain. In 1624 a large army was sent under Count Mansfield to help the Elector. Owing to mismanagement the expedition was failure; and the country was at war with Spain when James I died in 1625.

Critical Review of Spanish Policy

James I was timid and indecisive. Moreover he considered friendship with Spain essential for the progress of England. Besides, he considered ahead of times that religion should not in any way colour foreign relations. So he went to mediate between the Catholics and Protestants in the continent and play the role of a peace-maker. He started well with success in initial stages. But his policy of peace was put to a hard test during the Thirty Years' War. He would not deflect from his views. In spite of opposition of the protestants and parliamentarians in England, James I had clung steadfastly to his pacific policy. For such of his pacific Spanish policy James I had conflict with his Parliament and even allowed his son-in-law to suffer humiliation in the continent due to the Spaniards. His only objective was the achievement of matrimonial relationship with Spain—a policy initiated by the Tudors in the preceding century. But his policy had ultimately failed. Charles could not

settlers in Ireland was disliked by the Irish. James's representative, Chichester, tried to pacify the discontented by ending martial law and restoring some tribal land to Irish tenants. Hoping to make Ireland more like England, James established in Ulster colonies of English and Scottish Protestants. Thus began the plantation of Ulster province in 1611.

(V) Colonisation and Trade

On a total view of James I's foreign policy it may be said that in international politics James cut a poor figure in spite of his cleverness. But England did her best work during his reign in maritime discovery and in commercial and colonial enterprise beyond the seas.

During his reign the English followed up the explorations of the Cabots by making a settlement in the New World. *The Plymouth Company* attempted to make a settlement at the mouth of the Kennebec river, but abandoned it. The *London Company* established a settlement of Jamestown and it remained. In 1619 an English ship carried a cargo of slaves to the new colony. *Sir Walter Raleigh* made several efforts at colonisation but to no success. The *Mayflower Pilgrims* made a successful settlement at Plymouth in 1620.

During these years English trade grew apace, side by side with English colonisation. The East India Company chartered by Elizabeth marched on to progress in business. A brisk trade was carried on by it in India and the Far East. The first factory was started at Surat in 1612. The impetus given by the great age of Elizabeth was gradually building up the modern England of adventure, commerce, colonies and empire, and the foundations of the British empire in America and India were laid in the reign of James I. Herein lay the success of the Foreign Policy of James I.

5. JAMES I AND HIS PARLIAMENTS

Analysis :

PARLIAMENTS IN REIGNS OF ELIZABETH I AND JAMES I.

Little friction with Queen owing to

- (1) Queen's no asking for money
- (2) Existence of foreign danger
- (3) Security of Queen after Armada

Frictions with James I owing to

- (1) King's Divine Right Theory and Parliament's claim of Rights
- (2) Frictions on questions of religion, money and foreign policy.

FIRST PARLIAMENT, 1604-11.

Businesses :

1. Grant to king of Tonnage and Poundage for life.
2. Laws against Roman Catholics.
3. Parliament's Right to settle disputed elections—G. dwin's case.
4. Increased duty on currants. Bate's case. Book of Rates.
5. Parliament's Protest against New Impositions.
6. The Great contract Proposal to abolish feudal dues.

SECOND PARLIAMENT 1614.

Failure of the undertakers. No money granted.

THIRD PARLIAMENT, 1621-22

Businesses ;

1. Impeachment revived. Impeachment of Bacon.
2. Parliament claimed right to discuss all state affairs.
3. James I tore Protestation,

FOURTH PARLIAMENT 1624.

Businesses :

1. Passed Statute against Monopolies.
2. Impeachment of Earl of Middlesex.

TOTAL ACHIEVEMENT OF PARLIAMENT DURING THE REIGN

- (a) Right of Impeachment revived.
- (b) Claim to discuss all state affairs recorded.
- (c) Statute against Monopolies.
- (d) Use of Proclamations protested.
- (e) Right to determine contested elections vindicated.

Parliaments under Elizabeth and James

The relations of James I with his Parliaments were far from cordial. There came about a struggle between Crown and Parliament during his reign. This struggle was outstanding from the reign of Queen Elizabeth. There were, no doubt, faint traces of struggle in the last reign, but now the causes of struggle came to the surface in bold outlines and the conflicts started.

There were reasons for absence of such a contest in the reign of the last Tudor monarch. Elizabeth practised rigid economy and had to ask Parliament rarely for money. She had no great need to call the Houses together frequently. She had her policies approved by Parliament. So when Parliament met, it had no desire to oppose the Queen. It had implicit faith in the abilities of the Queen. The Parliament realised that during the first thirty years of her reign the nation was confronted with the Spanish menace and it was the duty of Parliament to help the queen repel that danger. Actually the invasion of Spain came in 1588, but it was repelled and the queen became an idol of the people. So from the beginning the times were favourable for the Tudor monarch to avoid the conflict. Elizabeth earned the gratitude of the nation, as she wielded her power for the nation's good. Moreover, she knew the art of yielding in times of opposition. From this the people came to trust in her bonafides. So the people did not like to oppose her, rather supported her, though at times Parliament became restless and assertive. The popularity of Elizabeth with personal tact was at the root of her practical despotism.

But the Stuart King James I was somewhat different. He was a Scot with no experience of opposition of Scottish parliament : but English parliament disagreed with him from the first. For, he had no ability to understand the English temperament, and no tact to humour Parliament or the people. The result was the quarrel between king and Parliament on almost every count, ranging from religion to all affairs of state.

Puritan party

In the Parliamentary conflict James I was greatly opposed by the Puritan party which formed the majority of members. At the accession of James I, the Puritan party were determined both to carry out ecclesiastical reforms and to insist upon the privileges of parliament and the liberties of the subject.

James was bitterly opposed to everything approaching Presbyterianism; he was convinced that the hierarchy was the chief support of the Crown and resolved to show no toleration in dissenters, one of his first acts being the rejection of the Millenary Petition for "a Reformation in the Church service, ministry, living and discipline." To the Roman Catholics he was at first inclined to show partial indulgence. He supported the Church government of bishops. For, he held "No Bishop, no King."

Civil government

The civil government of James was impolitic and arbitrary. The theories of Divine Right and passive obedience were adopted by the High Church party and the Tories, but soon caused him to come into conflict with the House of Commons, a conflict out of which ultimately grew the constitutional struggle between the Parliament and the Monarchy.

First Parliament, 1604

Session I—In the first parliament the Speaker warned the king of the limited nature of the regal power, and reminded him that no legislation could be carried out by any other power than that of the High Court of Parliament, "that is, by the agreement of the Commons, the accord of the Lords, and the assent of the sovereign"; that to the king belonged merely the right to negative or ratify, not to institute.

In this session the Commons vindicated their rights to determine contested elections; and to freedom from arrest. They freely discussed their grievances, complaining purveyance, guardianship in chivalry, and monopolies, drew up a *Form of Apology* in assertion of their privileges, claiming (1) that their privileges were of right and could not be denied; (2)

that their house was a Court of Record and above all other courts ; (3) that the Commons were sole proper judges of elections ; (4) that the king had no power to alter religion or make laws concerning it. At the same time they asserted their desire for peace and unity, and petitioned the king to take notice of abuses in Church and State. Thus commenced their long conflict for liberty with the House of Stuart.

Session II & III, 1605-7 — In 1606 the rule was established that the same bill cannot be proposed twice in the same session. In 1607 the jurisdiction of the Commons over their own members was confirmed by the expulsion of Christopher Pigott.

The chief subject of discussion was James's scheme for a union between England and Scotland, but the only result was the Act 4 Jac. I. c 1, by which all hostile laws between the two kingdoms were repealed. In *Calvin's case*, however (1608), it was held that a Scotch Post-natus was a natural subject of the king of England.

1607-9 :— Offended at the complaints of the Commons, James allowed two years to pass without summoning a parliament ; meanwhile to raise money he increased by his own authority the duty of imports.

Bates's Case (The Case of Impositions)

In 1606 a merchant named Bates refused to pay an extra duty on currants, and on an information being exhibited against him the decision of the Court of Exchequer was in favour of the king : the judges held that the king's power was twofold, ordinary and absolute ; that the matter in question was material matter of State and ought to be governed by the king's extraordinary power. The decision was followed in 1608 by a *Book of Bates* imposing heavy duties on almost all merchants.

Session IV., 1609-10,—When parliament again met the lawyers in the Lower House were prepared to dispute the question of Impositions. The king forbade any mention of the subject, but the Commons remonstrated against such a prohibition and petitioned (1) that all such illegal impositions should be

abolished ; (2) that an Act declaratory of their illegality should be passed. A bill to this effect was passed through the commons, but rejected by the Lords ; the Crown therefore continued to take shelter behind the judgment in Bates's case. The Commons further complained of the High Commission Court, and the abuse of proclamations. In consequence of this Coke was sent for to the council and asked (1) if the king could by proclamation prohibit the building of new houses in London, (2) if he could in the same way forbid the manufacture of starch from wheat. Coke conferred with the other judges, who replied (1) that the king could create no new offence by proclamation ; (2) that he could not by proclamation make an offence punishable in the Star Chamber ; (3) that he had no prerogative but what the law allowed him.

The Great Contract.—The Commons wished to abolish purveyance and the burdens of tenure in chivalry, and it was agreed that in their stead the king should receive £200,000. The matter was adjourned to the next session, but fell through ; and parliament was then dissolved.

Personal Rule 1611-14.—For the next three years James ruled alone. Every effort was made to raise funds : loans were demanded on privy seals, arrears of fines were exacted., peerages sold, baronets created, and Crownlands disposed of. Finally the king's liabilities forced the summons of a parliament.

The Undertakers

This had been continually advised by Bacon and Nevil, who undertook to win over the opposition if the king would make further concession, Bacon making the further suggestion that much might be done in the way of filling the House with well-affected persons. The plans of the "Undertakers," however, leaked out, and the attempt to influence the elections resulted in the defeat of the government candidates.

The Second (Addled) Parliament

On the meeting of parliament the Commons again discussed impositions, and a unanimous vote was

passed against the king's right of imposing taxes without the consent of parliament. James demanded that supply should be the first matter treated of and on refusal dissolved parliament, four members being sent to the Tower. This step fixed the position of the king. He had been compelled to choose between depriving parliament of its representation character or giving it a control over the executive. He adopted the first course, and six years of despotism followed. Money was obtained by forced loans, monopolies, fines and the exaction of feudal payments, and finally by a general Benevolence.

The King and Coke

The only power in the State which James had to fear now was the judicial power ; the judges alone could check the encroachment of the royal prerogative. As a rule the judges had supported the Crown ; Coke, however, on all occasions upheld the supremacy of the law and frequently came into conflict with King and Council.

In the Case of Peacham : Peacham was proceeded against for treason in consequence of the discovery in his house of an unpublished sermon attacking the king and his ministers.

James directed the Attorney-General to confer separately with the judges of the king's Bench in order to ascertain (and influence) their opinion. Coke objected to the principle, but consented to give a written opinion in which however, he asserted that no mere declaration of the king's unworthiness amounted to treason.

In the Case of Commendams he showed more independence. Bishop Neille, while holding, the See of Lichfield, had received from the king a living *in commendam*. Two persons then brought an action against him on the ground that the presentation was theirs. James, hearing that counsel for the plaintiffs disputed the king's prerogative to grant a commendam, forbade the judges to proceed until they had conferred with him. The judges objected to this command as illegal and proceeded with the case, in consequence

of which they were summoned before the Council and lectured by the king on the subject of the prerogative. The rest of the judges promised, in any future case, to consult the royal wishes. Coke, however, maintained his position, and refused to make any such servile promise. He was accordingly dismissed from office.

The disgrace of Coke is a historical landmark; henceforward the prerogative was safe from attack: the judges were to hold office absolutely at the will of the sovereign.

Foreign policy of James I. The wish of James was to secure peace with Spain. This was, however, distasteful to the majority of the nation, who considered themselves bound in honour not to desert the Dutch. The dislike to the proposed Spanish alliance was still further increased by the execution of Raleigh and at the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War popular opinion was in favour of supporting the Protestant cause in Germany.

Third Parliament

Session I, 1620-21—At the opening of the third parliament the Commons complained of the imprisonment of four of their members at the close of the last Parliament for words spoken in the House, but dropped the matter on the assurance of the king that they would maintain their privilege of freedom of speech. On the motion of Coke, however, a committee was appointed to inquire into grievances. Their attention was first drawn to Monopolies and they revived the right of parliamentary impeachment which had fallen into disuse under the Tudors. A more important step was the impeachment of Bacon, which revived the right of impeaching the king's ministers. He was found guilty of receiving bribes, and punished by fine and imprisonment. This right was confirmed in 1624 by the impeachment of the Earl of Middlesex for bribery and other misdemeanours. As a result of his protests against the harshness of the procedure in impeachment the Lords made an order that in future cases, the accused should be furnished with copies of the depositions and should be allowed the aid of counsel.

Floyd's Case

After asserting the right of impeachment the Commons, in the case of Floyd—a Roman Catholic barrister who was fined and pilloried for expressing satisfaction at the expulsion of the Palatine, infringed upon the privileges of the Lords. In 1399 the judicial power of Parliament had been declared to reside in the Lords only, and in this very session, in the case of Mompesson, the Commons had admitted that their jurisdiction lay only over cases concerning the privileges of the House. The Lords requested a Conference, after which the Commons agreed that Floyd should be arraigned before the Upper House, but not so as to be by way of precedent.

As the Commons refused to grant supply the king now dissolved Parliament.

Session II., 1621.—During the recess the court party had taken proceedings against Coke on a charge of misdemeanour during office. The Commons espoused the case warmly, the accusers of Coke were taken into custody by the serjeant-at-arms, and a committee of investigation appointed.

On the proposition of Coke a petition was drawn up against the growth of popery, praying the king to marry his son to a protestant princess, and to declare war against Spain. James however, wrote to the Speaker forbidding the House to meddle with mysteries of State. The Commons, in answer, claimed the privilege of freedom of speech as their undoubted right, and on the king's denial drew up the protestation, claiming—

1. That the liberties, franchises, and privileges of Parliament are the undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England.

2. That affairs concerning the king, state, or church, the making of laws and the redress of grievances are proper subjects for debate and counsel in Parliament.

3. That every member has, and ought to have, freedom of speech in dealing with such business.

James tore out the protestation from the Journals of the Commons, and dissolved Parliament.

The Fourth Parliament, 1623-4

In the last Parliament of James very little difference arose between the Crown and the Commons. The most important statute was the Act against Monopolies which declared that all monopolies, all licences to do anything against any statute, and all grants of the benefit of any forfeiture before judgment were utterly void. Patents for inventions were expressly excepted by the Act.

Minor Issues : The conflict between the king and Parliament was not always on broad principles or major issues. There were a good number of minor issues that came to be highlighted in the relations between James and his Parliaments. On many occasions, Parliament refused to grant supplies to James till its grievances were redressed. Particularly, they took strong objection to imposition in 1614 and this was the immediate reason for the dissolving of the Parliament. Secondly, parliament very often made representation in favour of war with Spain. Thirdly, it repeatedly demanded a strict enforcement of the penal statutes against Roman Catholics. Fourthly, it successfully claimed freedom from arrest as seen in Shirley's case, in 1604. Finally it showed sympathy for the Puritan cause, for example, in the Protestation it was stated that it did not intend the subversion of the ecclesiastical status quo but asked for the abandonment of some ceremonies of small importance.

Excess of Parliament : Often the parliament exceeded its limits. Floyd was illegally condemned for disparaging the Elector and Electress Palatine at the Bar of Commons but he was saved from the cruel sentence of the Lords by the king himself. And the motivation of the opponents to James was in no way edifying.

Gain and Loss Balance Sheet

In this manner, Parliament came to the forefront during the time of James and this in turn brought into relief the great constitutional problem of the 17th

century. In so many different ways, Parliament asserted itself and the king showed himself to be equally stiff. The result was constitutional conflict between the two. The King ultimately lost ground in many points and Parliament gained in many. Davies states "James I was at his best in a small circle of intimates when his learning and wit enlivened conversation ; he was at his worst on state occasions because he wholly lacked kingly dignity."

James was worsted in the struggle in which (a) Parliament had asserted, with success, its right to determine contested elections and that to impeach the king's minister. It had exercised this right on two occasions (b) It placed on record the Commons' claim to debate matters of public concern, procured a statute against Monopolies and protested against the use of proclamations and the levy of customs (c) It had protested against the New Impositions, with no success, indeed, at the time, but the matter had not been forgotten (d) It had passed a law against monopolies (e) It had asserted its right to discuss all state affairs, though the king had strongly disputed the claim

But it had not secured the right of meeting regularly. It had not claimed such a right, and perhaps the members had not yet clearly seen the importance of this point. Until this was secured other privileges were valueless, for the king could always win in any disagreement with his Parliament by dissolving that body. While he could do this, Parliament could exercise no effective control over the Crown. Though the struggle between Crown and Parliament had begun it did not grow to be very intense. No blood had yet been shed.

Responsibility of James I for the Parliamentary Conflict

From a review of the Parliamentary quarrel of James I it is obvious that 'James's character had been peculiarly fitted to open dangerous questions.' James was unlike Elizabeth and so he quarrelled with Parliament on points which created no rift between Elizabeth and Parliament. James was not an English-

man and as such he could not 'feel the pulse of the people' or understand the English problems from their view point. To this trait of character was added his erudition and pedanticism. As he was a great scholar and adept in arguments, he would argue abstract theories with obstinacy. He conceived, talked and wrote in his "True Law of Free Monarchies" ideas about the Divine Right of Kings. Such was, however, not the case with his Tudor predecessors. That explains why there was quarrel between James I and his Parliament, and why this was absent in Tudor period.

It can be stated from a review of facts that the personal character of James I was, to a great extent, responsible for embittering his relations with Parliament. It is undoubted that with a better sense prevailing the issues at stake could have been settled more amicably, but there was one peculiarity in the character of James I. He would discuss theories on metaphysical concepts, but would not go to extremes. That explains how James's Royalist views of kingcraft gave rise to the popular views about privileges of Parliament.

CHARLES I PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLE

CHARLES I 1625—1649 (24 YEARS)

Born 1600 ; married 1625 Henrietta Maria of France.

Chief Characters of the Reign

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, Sir John Elliot. John Pym; Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford; William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury; Prynne; Chambers; John Hampden; Edward Hyde, Lord Falkland; Lord Manchester; Lord Essex; William Cavendish, Earl (afterwards Marquess and Duke) of New Castle; Ferdinand, Lord Fairfax; Oliver Cromwell; Sir Thomas Fairfax; the Duke of Hamilton.

Chief Contemporary Princes

France
Louis XIII, d. 1643
Louis XIV, d. 1715

Sweden
Gustavus Adolphus
1612—32

Charles I succeeded his father early in 1625. A few weeks after his accession he married a French princess, Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII.

His reign can be conveniently divided into five periods :

- (1) 1625-29 : His rule with the help of Parliaments.
- (2) 1629-40 : His rule without Parliaments.
- (3) 1640-42 : His rule with Long Parliament.
- (4) 1642-47 : The first phase of the civil War.
- (5) 1647-49 : The Great Rebellion or Puritan Revolution.

I. CHARACTER OF CHARLES I

Good features : Dignified, grave, temperate and religious. Well respected, and well-educated.

Bad traits : Not wise, obstinate and narrow-minded. Stiff and unyielding. Firmly believed in Divine Right theory of Kingship. Drew opposition of the people.

Early in 1625 Charles I succeeded his father at the age of twenty-five. He was dignified, good-looking

grave, temperate, and deeply religious. He was well-educated. He was in many respects a great contrast to his father. James was slovenly and unkingly in habits, but Charles was every inch a king and had earned the respect of all for his manners and deportment.

But Charles was neither wise nor clear-headed. He had much faith in himself and little in his people. He was a king of no great ability. He was often hesitating, indecisive and narrow-minded. He was obstinate and did not learn, from his father's early history, the need of giving way or understanding another man's point of view. Sir Ferdinand Fairfax said of him at his accession, "The king in his own nature is very stiff." This stiffness was augmented by his firm belief in the Divine Right theory of kings, which he imbibed from his father. He also maintained that he was appointed ruler by God, and his powers could not be limited by the laws passed by the people. He declared that he was not answerable to them for his actions and insisted upon complete obedience to his will. But his subjects opposed this theory of kingcraft and held that his word was not one on which they could rely. It seemed that Charles would not give up his exalted notions about kingship without a struggle.

2. CHARLES I AND HIS FIRST THREE PARLIAMENTS

His Relations with Parliament : Not cordial.

Causes of quarrel :

1. Over Religious differences.
2. „ Control of ministers.
3. „ Foreign policy.
4. „ Finance.
5. „ Question of sovereignty.
6. Due to Character of Charles I.

First Parliament, 1625

Parliament granted Tonnage and Poundage and two subsidies

Second Parliament. 1626.

Impeachment of Buckingham. Imprisonment of Eliot.

Third Parliament, 1628-9.

First Session

Parliament passed the Petition of Right.

- Provisions :
1. No tax or loan without consent of Parliament.
 2. No imprisonment without cause.
 3. No billeting of soldiers on private persons.
 4. No trials by martial law in peace-time.

Parliament granted five subsidies.

Second Session

- Complaints of
- (a) Continued levying of tonnage and poundage
 - (b) Imprisonment of a member of the Commons.
 - (c) King's advancement of Arminian clergy.

Resolutions passed amidst violent scene. King dissolved it and resolved to rule without Parliament.

His Relation with Parliament

During the first four years (1624-29) of his reign, Charles called three parliaments and quarrelled with each one of them. The causes of difference between crown and parliament were many.

In the *first place*, there was the *religious difficulty* as in James's reign. Charles I was a strict follower of the Anglican Church. He was inclined to tolerate the Roman Catholics on account of his marriage with a French Roman Catholic princess. But he was bent on giving a blow to the growing strength of the Puritans and Non-Conformists. Those who criticised him or did not accept his faith were brought to the Court of High Commission for trial and condemned to death. His parliament was composed of Puritans. So differences arose between the two.

Secondly, control of ministers was another cause. Parliament claimed, on the basis of precedents, that it had got right to exercise control over king's ministers ; but the Stuart kings, having in view the practices and precedents of Tudor kings, believed that ministers were king's servants. Parliament distrusted the king's ministers like Buckingham and Laud. During the first four years Parliament made Lord

Buckingham their target of attack. Charles supported him and considered any criticism of the minister factious and impertinent.

Thirdly, foreign policy was a source of difference between the two. Charles's marriage with a Catholic princess was disliked by the Puritans of the Parliament. The foreign relations in his reign became exceptionally complicated and entailed heavy financial burden on the people. The foreign relations turned to be unsuccessful and unbecoming. So parliament was angry at the failure of his foreign policy.

Fourthly, finance was the bone of contention between Charles I and Parliament. Charles I was in constant financial difficulties. The gold production in America had lowered the value of money, and the crown needed a larger sum from taxation. The Commons granted it grudgingly and in a miserly manner. The king had to supplement it by other means, unapproved by parliament. Parliament would not allow monarchy to exercise such arbitrary power. Hence the conflict.

Fifthly, the underlying cause of all disputes was the question of Sovereignty—Where did Sovereignty reside, in the king or in the parliament? The parliament wanted a greater control of government, and Charles was unwilling to concede to it. Parliament would not brook despotism, and Charles would claim right to rule as he wished, for he had a profound belief in the doctrine of hereditary Divine Right, and held that Parliament was a creation of the crown.

Lastly, the character of Charles I was also responsible for the hitch. He was neither wise nor practical. He had an exalted sense of kingcraft, loved unpopular favourites, and showed obstinacy rather than resoluteness. He would break, but not bend. If he had been a little sensible, the eventuality would not have come to pass. Hence his rupture with Parliament.

First Parliament 1625

Charles desired war with Spain, and expected a large unconditional grant. The Commons, however,

granted only two subsidies with tonnage and poundage for one year only. They professed themselves ready to afford all necessary supply, but emphasized their resolve to make it depend upon redress of grievances. In indignation Charles dissolved parliament and endeavoured to raise money upon privy seals, but was compelled to summon another within six months.

Second Parliament, 1626

One of the chief causes of the last dissolution had been the desire of Charles to screen Buckingham from impeachment and attempts had been made to prevent several of the popular party from abstaining seats by appointing them sheriffs. The new parliament, in spite of a direct prohibition from the king and a demand for supply proceeded with the impeachment. The Commons granted three subsidies and three fifteenths on condition that their grievances should first be heard and answered. At the same time they asserted their right to complain of any person found grievous to the Commonwealth. Buckingham was then formally impeached. The king retaliated by imprisoning Eliot and Digges, but released them upon the refusal of the Commons to do any business until they were set at liberty. To protect Buckingham, who was now also being impeached by the Earl of Bristol, Charles then again dissolved parliament. The dissolution left him without fund for the Spanish War. Tonnage and poundage were illegally imposed, benevolence and privy seals were demanded, the seaports were ordered to furnish vessels, and a *general loan* demanded, of which payment was exacted by imprisonment, by the billeting of soldiers in private houses, and by the enforcement of martial law.

Darnel's Case, 1627

Darnel and four others being imprisoned for refusing the loan, sued out their writs of *habeas corpus* in the King's Bench, to which the Warden of the Fleet made answer that they were detained by command of the king. A discussion arose as to whether this

was a legal cause of detention and finally the decision was in favour of the Crown.

Third Parliament, 1627-8

Charles now entered upon a fresh war with Spain, but, after the failure of the expedition to Rhe, the necessity of supply forced the summons of his third parliament. The Commons, irritated at the threatening language of the king, resolved themselves at once into a Committee of Grievances. The principal subjects discussed were : 1. Illegal loans ; 2. Arbitrary commitments ; 3. Billeting of soldiers in private houses ; 4. The use of martial law. After passing resolutions (a) that no freeman ought to be imprisoned, except for lawful cause expressed in a lawful warrant, (b) that no tax ought to be levied without consent of parliament, the Commons applied to the Lords for a conference in order to agree on a petition to the king. Meanwhile five subsidies were voted, but a Money Bill was deferred until grievances had been redressed.

Ultimately, on the motion of Coke, the Petition of Right was drawn up. The Lords at first proposed a saving clause to leave entire the king's "sovereign power" ; this, however, was rejected by the Commons, and the petition was passed without amendment. The king sent for the judges to discover whether, if he granted the petition, he would deprive himself of his power of arbitrary government ; their answer not satisfying him, he returned an equivocal reply, but in face of the discontent of both Houses was finally compelled to give his assent in due form.

The Petition of Right, 1628

(i) Recalled the Statute De Tallagio non Concedendo and the Act of 25 Ed. III both forbidding the levy of any tax, tallage, or other charge without consent of parliament.

(ii) Complained of commissions issued to enforce loans, and of imprisonment inflicted on those who refused to pay.

(iii, iv. v.) Quoted Magna Carta as to arbitrary imprisonment, also the 28 Ed. III c 3, as to the

liberty of the subject, and complained of the allegation of the king's command as a cause of detention,

(vi, vii). Complained of the billeting of soldiers to private houses, and the use of martial law.

(viii). Prayed for relief according to the laws and statutes of the realm.

The Commons in gratitude passed a Bill to grant the promised subsidies, and were preparing to give the king tonnage and poundage for life, but delayed to remonstrate against the continued levying of these duties without consent of parliament, and to pray for the removal of Buckingham. To prevent this, the king prorogued parliament.

The death of Buckingham removed one cause of contention; but Charles, relying on the decision in Bates's case continued to raise customs duties as before, and to punish by fine and imprisonment those who refused to pay.

Rolle's Case

The dispute over tonnage and poundage was complicated by the fact that Rolle, one of the merchants whose goods had been seized, was a member of the House. As the seizure took place during recess, privilege of parliament could not be claimed, but it was moved in the Commons that a Committee should be appointed on the whole question of the levy of tonnage and poundage. The king accordingly gave way and renounced all claim.

The position of the Commons:—The position of the Commons was a conservative one: in politics they sought to preserve the free English constitution, as it had existed before the despotism of the Tudors and Stuarts; in religion they adhered to the Calvinistic theology, regarding it as the sole orthodox doctrine.

In 1628 at Laud's suggestion, the king had issued a new edition of the Articles, forbidding any comment and repudiating the right of parliament to deal with religious questions.

Toleration was as yet an unknown idea: the Commons clung to their own interpretation of the Articles, and summoned to the bar of the House the authors of the ceremonial innovations. Meanwhile the question of tonnage and poundage was again taken up, and the officers who had seized Rolfe's goods were summoned to answer for their contempt. The king refused to allow them to be questioned, and ordered the House to adjourn.

On its re-assembling a further adjournment was ordered. The Commons, however, had never admitted the right of the king to order an adjournment, and refused to adjourn.

Eliot, moreover, had prepared a protest which the House intended to pass; he was interrupted by the Speaker, who rose to leave the chair, alleging the king's command, but was held down until three resolutions were passed, declaring—

1. that the introducers of innovations in religion or of Popery, or of any unorthodox doctrine, and
2. that all who should assist in the levying of tonnage and poundage should be reputed enemies to the Commonwealth,
3. that all merchants who should pay such subsidies were betrayers of the liberties of England.

The House then adjourned, and was finally dissolved by the king.

Critical Review

During this period Parliament was suspicious and uncompromising, niggardly in sanctioning supplies and ever intolerant in matters of religion. It showed itself more patient, more practical and more clear-headed than the king. It is, therefore, correct to hold that Parliament was in the right. But it also became patent that Parliament had sometimes exceeded its limit and attempted to establish control over the king which had not been exercised in Tudor times. It was obvious, therefore, that the crown would resist such attempts. While dissolving Parliament in 1629, Charles I rightly said that 'the

Commons had been trying to erect a universal, overruling power, which belongs only to the king and not to the Commons, and thence he wanted to rule without Parliament, as to him it was unthinkable to give up his whole way government only to obtain Parliamentary approval. It was clear that harmony between king and Parliament was impossible.

3. ARBITRARY RULE OF CHARLES I (1629-40)

King's determination to rule without Parliament. Advised by Laud and Wentworth.

His course of action :

1. Finance. Vexatious taxes imposed. Tonnage and Poundage Fees or fines for Distrain of Knighthood. Recovery of lost Crown Lands. Monopolies. Ship-money. Hampden's case.
2. Agencies of administration : Star Chamber and High Commission Courts and Council of the North. Privy Council. Arbitrary punishments.
3. Imposition of High Church system in Scotland and Eng'and

Break out of First Bishops' War.

Criticism and Review of Personal Rule.

After the dissolution of his Third Parliament Charles I was so thoroughly disgusted with the members of Parliament that he determined to rule without them, and for eleven years (1629-40) he successfully carried on a 'personal' government, as distinct from Parliamentary rule, in spite of financial and religious difficulties.

During this period of arbitrary rule, Laud and Wentworth were the king's chief advisers, the former in Church matters and the latter in State affairs. Under their guidance Charles pursued a course of action which made him independent of Parliament. The administration was carried on through the Privy Council, and the Star Chamber and High Commission courts. The arbitrary acts of Charles I can be conveniently grouped under three heads viz.,

- A. Vexatious taxation,
- B. Imposition of 'High Church' system and
- C. Arbitrary punishment.

A. Vexatious Taxation

Finance was the sinews of Government. As conventions grew, direct taxation was possible with the approval of Parliament only. But when Charles preferred to rule without Parliament he was compelled to resort to various expedients to raise money and replenish treasury. He dared not openly break the law but sought to evade its spirit by underhand means.

(1) He *exactd Tonnage and Poundage* on the plea that the king had right to regulate trade. But this tax alone was insufficient. So he tried other taxes.

(2) He *imposed fines* for breaches of long-forgotten Acts of Parliament.

(3) He imposed fines upon those who had encroached upon royal forests.

(4) The courts levied enormous fines merely for the sake of revenue. Large fines were generally imposed on the well-to-do for acts of insubordination.

(5) He revived the ancient custom of compulsory knighthood called *distrant of knighthood* (as in the days of Edward I) by which he imposed fines on those who having the necessary property qualification, (i e., property worth £40 a year or more) had neglected to get themselves knighted. These exactions fell on the gentry.

(6) He revived forced loans and Benevolences and invented new monopolies of trading rights and sold them to companies.

(7) Lastly, he imposed a tax called *ship-money*. It was an old tax levied only upon maritime towns for collecting ships in time of war. Charles imposed this tax not only upon seaports but also upon inland counties. The people complained against this tax because it was levied without Parliamentary grant and was levied upon inland counties. Hampden refused to pay this tax and was arrested. The judges declared this tax lawful. The decision caused irritation throughout the country and widened the gulf between the king and Parliament.

B. Imposition of "High church" System

The religious policy of Charles was unpopular. Charles was bitterly opposed to the Puritans. He favoured the Arminian party and their ceremonial forms which the Puritans regarded as popish practices. To carry out his church policy he made Laud Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud sought to attain unity in church through uniformity of worship, and tried to root out all dissentient voices in ecclesiastical matters. He enforced ceremonies hateful to the puritans and treated the Roman Catholics with leniency. Those clergymen who refused to conform to Laud's religious policy, also known as "High Church" system—were expelled from their cures. By resorting to the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission Laud sought to crush puritanism. Leighton, Prynne and Burton were heavily punished for criticising his policy and compelled to pay heavy fines.

C. Arbitrary punishment

For disturbances in the Parliament in 1629, the principal actors like Eliot, Holles, Valentine and others were sharply punished. The courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were Charles's instruments of tyranny. In these courts the king's interests were the supreme consideration. The courts of Star Chamber punished those who opposed the king's policy, while the court of High Commission punished those who refused to abide by Laud's system of church government. These courts imposed heavy fines and arbitrarily put men into prison. Their summary methods practically superseded the ordinary law of the land.

Crisis with the Scots

The tyranny of Charles reached its climax when he attempted to force a new form of worship upon the Scottish people. This led to what is known as Bishops' Wars.

Charles I wanted to alter the form of worship of the Scottish church. So he tried to force upon the Scots a new prayer book similar to that in use in

England. The Scots disliked this change, and broke into riot at Edinburgh when an attempt was made to read the new service. They signed a National Government by which they bound themselves to resist religious changes, to uphold Presbyterianism, and denounce practices that savoured of Catholicism.

Finding the Scots unwilling to accept the religious changes which he wanted to introduce, Charles appealed to arms. The war that followed is known as the First Bishops' War. Charles met with little support and was forced to sign the Treaty of Berwick. By it he agreed that Scottish affairs were to be settled by a general Assembly and Parliament. But both the Assembly and Parliament discarded Charles's view and so Charles resolved to make a new attack on Scotland. To get money for a war against the Scots, Charles summoned a Parliament. It, however, refused to grant any supply unless the grievances of the people were removed. The king, in anger, dissolved this Parliament. It was known as the "Short Parliament," for it sat only for three weeks.

Despite his failure to get Parliamentary supplies Charles gathered an army to fight the Scots. This led to the Second Bishops' War. But the English army was beaten at Newburn and Charles was forced to sue for terms and promised to pay the expenses of the Scottish army. He was compelled to summon a Parliament in 1640, which became famous as the Long Parliament. Charles's tyranny came to an end with the meeting of the Long Parliament.

Critical Estimate

Historians have criticised the rule of this period as 'tyranny' or 'a dark period of kingly government'. There are, however, two views regarding the nature of rule during this period. One is that it was tyrannical because it was non-parliamentary. The other is that for fines and taxes of this period there were legal precedents and the period was popular because of peace and prosperity and as such it was not tyrannical.

During this period Parliament was in abeyance and the king had his own way. It is normally said that during this period of non-parliamentary rule, he adopted several unconstitutional methods but later researches have shown that this is far from truth. The forest fines imposed by him, the distraining of knight's land or the fines imposed on cottages of less than 4 acres were levied on the basis of old statute. It was contended that Charles I, in his defence, justified his action by referring to old precedents of the age of Edward IV.

But certain things were undoubtedly illegal. The first among them was the sale of monopolies. The resolution of Parliament in 1344 stated that the monopolies should not be granted without the consent of Parliament. But Charles I, in order to evade this resolution, granted them to corporations and not to individuals. This was interpreted as the quibbling of traditional law. This caused a great resentment among the people.

His next unconstitutional acts were the forced loans and the ship-money. Interesting arguments were put forward before the Exchequer chamber. Hampden contended that the tax had been levied on coastal counties alone while the present king imposed it on inland counties as well. The king's counsel replied that the king was the only judge of emergencies. Hampden still argued that the tax should not be levied without the consent of Parliament. The king's counsel argued that the authority of the crown was sufficient. 'In all fairness the spirit of the law was in favour of Parliament even though the letter of the law was in favour of the king' Trevelyan says that the king went against traditions even though there is no definite law enjoining that the king should not do such acts.

In the field of foreign affairs there is nothing to show that the king acted as tyrant. A treaty was concluded with Spain for the Palatinate in 1638. The people wanted peace and the king also was not in a financial and political position to wage any continen-

tal war. Generally speaking, Charles's motives were pure. The crown wanted to promote the well-being of all classes, to purify finance, to prevent further humiliations by equipping an efficient army, and to suppress controversy and compel a general reverence for the traditional usages of Christianity.

Perhaps the greatest folly of the king lies in his choice of friends like Laud and Wentworth. Laud's religious policy was the chief cause of the civil war.

Wentworth also was much despised by the people. They were always afraid that he would bring a popish army from Ireland to reduce the people to slavery.

In this manner, there are only a few points by which we can say that he offended the nation and ruled as a tyrant. But truly speaking, England did not groan under the tyranny of Charles I. No poor rate was levied, and every attempt was made to create jobs for the unemployed. Much was done to check the enclosures which caused great distress to the people. Those of the people who carried out enclosures were regarded as responsible for the rise in prices ; and so were heavily fined. The court of Star Chamber almost became a popular institution. Moreover, his officers eradicated piracy of the Irish on English coast. Asley says, "Some naval historians maintain that the modern British navy dates from king Charles I's reign and that if it had been better employed it might have outdone the triumphs of Drake and Blake."

In the field of arts too, this period was quite important. Van Dyke and Rubens were patronized by the court. The king took delight in sending his agents abroad for collecting specimens of art. These two painters came to England and accepted knight-hoods. The royal court continued to patronize the wonderful group of dramatists who at one time were headed by Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, and the metaphysical poets such as Donne and Herbert.

In this manner, to call Charles I a tyrant during the eleven-year period is baseless. In the words of Winston S. Churchill: "The executive was at its

weakest. All foreign enterprise was therefore barred. The crown had to make shift with what it could scrape from old taxes. Peace reigned throughout the land. No large question could be stirred. The king reigned to the smallest scale. He was a despot, but an unarmed despot. No standing army enforced his decrees. There was more tolerance towards religious differences in the king's circle than anywhere else in the land. He sincerely believed, his judges vehemently asserted, and his people found it difficult to deny that he was ruling according to many of the old customs of the realm. It is travesty to represent this period of personal Rule as a time of *tyranny in any effective sense*.

4. SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD *Analysis :*

An M. P. First opposed court, but after Buckingham supported king. President of the Council of the North, 1628-33.

Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1633-40. Close touch with king by correspondence. His policy of "Thorough". Chief adviser during the period of Personal Rule. His impeachment. Strafford executed.

Career

Wentworth, a Yorkshireman, was a member of Parliament in the reigns of James I and Charles I. In the reign of James I, he was one of the opponents of the Crown along with Eliot, Digges and others. He disliked Buckingham and spoke in the House of Commons against the king and the Duke. After the death of Buckingham he changed sides, became a supporter and friend of Charles I and made a peer (1628). He thought that Parliament was not fair to the king and that it would be best for the nation to be ruled firmly by the king without Parliament. For such of his views and his change of sides, he was hated by Parliament, and unsparingly attacked, called a Political Apostate, the Lost Archangel, the First of the Rats.

In 1628 he was made President of the North. It gave him control of the northern counties. In 1633 he became Lord Deputy of Ireland. In 1639 he

became Charles I's principal adviser. Such was his career, in brief.

Policy of 'Thorough'

His whole policy can be summarised in the single word 'Thorough'. His policy of 'thorough' pivoted upon discipline and efficiency. In a way, he tried to revive the Tudor's strong government. He was prepared to sacrifice individual rights for the sake of efficiency just like the Tudors. Though he admitted the importance of parliament, he came to believe that it was safer that the king should increase his power at the expense of Parliament. Like the earlier statesman, Bacon, he argued for an emergent sovereignty of the Crown i.e. right to stay aside law on grounds of expediency, a policy which is followed in modern times.

His administration of 'Thorough'

During his tenure as the President of the North, he made it the haven of the poor and innocent as against the proud and insolent. The gentry was thoroughly subdued. Humble people obtained redress of their grievances in the council. The landed magnates were forbidden to extend their estates by removing the landmarks of their poorer neighbours. The provisions of the *Statute of Artificers* were enforced. *The Poor Law* was administered to the great satisfaction of the vagrant. The provisions relating to wages and working day were enforced. In spite of his many good services, he was hated by the leading men of the north.

When he was appointed Lord Deputy in Ireland his policy and administration of 'Thorough' were introduced. He curbed the power of the self-seeking vicious oligarchy of Ireland. He eliminated corruption. He gave the Irish justice and a fair system of taxation. He built roads. He founded industries and cleared the coasts of pirates. He refused to recognize titles of the English settlers in Connaught, who could not show a royal grant. By this method, a quarter of Connaught was confiscated and sold to new English settlers. In matters of religion, too, his

'Thorough' was felt. The Irish Church was compelled to adopt the English Article. He restored tithes. Added to this, he also strongly opposed both the Puritans and Presbyterians. Finally, he maintained a well-organized army by giving better salaries, enforcing strict discipline.

All these things made him unpopular. The magnates who were deprived of authority in Ireland nicknamed him Black Tom Tyrant. The city of London groaned under a fine from the Star Chamber. The Scots showed anxiety for their co-religionists in Ulster. .

In Scotland the Laudian system was enforced. It caused a bush-fire, which ultimately became the conflagration of the Civil War. Defying the Laudian system, the Scots declared war on England. The Bishops' wars were fought. The Scottish forces at last invaded northern England in 1640 and pushed back Charles's forces. The cost of these campaigns had reduced Charles to beggary.

Charles in despair called the Long Parliament into session, and recalled Wentworth from Ireland in order that he might be in close touch with him.

When the famous Long Parliament met in 1640 the members ran straight after the blood of Strafford. They harboured suspicions that Strafford's army would be utilized to crush them. Pym and Hampden maintained that redress of grievances should precede supply. Strafford possessed documentary proof showing that Pym corresponded with the Scots regarding the Scottish invasion of England. This was treason. But before Strafford could strike, his enemies took the lead. Parliament carried the articles of Strafford's impeachment before the House of Lords. The Commons failed to prove his treason. So they introduced a Bill of Attainder. The king assented to the Bill of Attainder. Strafford was executed.

Thus ended the life of a minister of Charles whom the Commons 'slaughtered when they could not convict him'. Strafford was a strong, masterful and

able administrator. He had unlimited confidence in his own capacity. He built order in the northern England and Ireland by his rule with an iron hand. He ruled Ireland roughly, but ably, wisely and firmly. He disliked half-measures and always loved 'Thorough' measures.

5. THE LONG PARLIAMENT

Analysis :

AIM OF PARLIAMENT

To destroy King's System of government completely, viz. his ministers, his courts, his financial system, his ruling without Parliament King could not dissolve Parliament while the Scots were in the country.

I SESSION, 1640-1

Ministers :

Strafford—Impeached. Charges not amounted to treason. Impeachment dropped. Act of Attainder passed, Strafford beheaded.

Laud—Impeached. Left in the Tower. Beheaded.

Finance :

Tonnage and Poundage, ship-money and other impositions declared illegal without consent of Parliament.

Courts :

Star Chamber, Council of the North, High Commission abolished.

Parliament :

(1) This Parliament not to be dissolved without its own consent. (2) Triennial Act. Parliament to be summoned every three years.

Grant of money :

Parliament granted king tonnage and Poundage for two months. Grant renewed every two months for about a year.

Root and Branch Bill :

A proposal to abolish bishops in the Church of England. Dropped owing to opposition.

II SESSION :

Grand Remonstrance, 1641 :

King failed to reach London before it was passed. Presented to King.

Five Members, 1642 :

King attempted to arrest five members of Commons for treason. Failure. Left London to raise forces with which to return and forcibly dissolved Parliament.

The Bishop's Act ; 1642

Deprived bishops of their seats in the House of Lords. To gain time King agreed.

Militia, 1642

King did not agree to give up command.

Nineteen Propositions

King refused to agree. No further negotiations.

Calling Long Parliament

Charles I called a Parliament in 1640. It was not finally dissolved until 1660 and so it came to be known as the Long Parliament. Its power vanished in 1648 when Colonel Pride purged it of its Presbyterian members.

The history of Long Parliament during this eight years might be divided into three periods :

- (1) Nov. 1640 to Sep. 1641 : Period of unanimity in reform.
- (2) 1641-42 : Period of division ending in the Civil War.
- (3) 1642-49 : Period of War with the King.

Circumstances, and aim of the Long Parliament

Charles I's attempt to force his religious views upon the Scots led to the Bishops' Wars. These ended disastrously for Charles and he was compelled to make peace on condition of paying a large sum of money to the Scots. Want of money compelled him to summon a great council of peers at York, which advised him to summon a Parliament. The Parliament, which Charles was thus forced to summon in 1640, was called the Long Parliament. Through the efforts of the popular party the Court candidates were everywhere rejected. Pym was its leader. Its members now wanted to make full use of their opportunity.

They were resolved to destroy completely Charles's system of government—his financial system, his ministers, his Courts and his personal rule.

Its Work

The first act of the Long Parliament was to take revenge on Charles's instruments of tyranny. In a speech Pym denounced the arbitrary proceedings of the government and named Strafford as a promoter of

tyranny. Therefore, it impeached Wentworth (created Lord Strafford) as well as archbishop, Laud. Strafford was charged with treason but it was doubtful whether his conduct amounted to treason. Because the only treason then known to the law of England was an offence against the king, and to the king Strafford was rather too faithful. So the Commons dropped the impeachment proceedings, fearing that the charge would not stand. They then brought in 'a Bill of Attainder' against Strafford and had him executed in 1641. This measure practically denied to Strafford any proper trial, and he was condemned not by any judicial trial but by an Act of Parliament.

Then came the turn of Laud who was executed in 1645. - The Long Parliament wanted to establish the principle that the king's ministers are responsible for their acts, even if done by the king's order. Any person who gave him wrong advice or harmful aid could be called to account by Parliament or the law courts.

Legislative and Remedial Measures

A number of Statutory Acts were passed :

1. By the *Triennial Act 1641*, it was provided (i) that if parliament was not summoned for three years the Chancellor, or in case of his default the peers, and failing the peers the sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs, or even the electors themselves should choose representatives, (ii) that no parliament should be dissolved or adjourned within fifty days of the meeting, but should *ipso facto* dissolve at the end of three years.

2. *Tonnage and poundage* were then granted to the king for two months ; it was also further enacted, that "no subsidy or other charge may be laid upon merchandize, exported or imported without consent of parliament."

3. *Ship money* was declared illegal, and the judgment against Hampden annulled.

4. The *Court of Star Chamber* was abolished.

By this (Act. 16 I.c 10) although the jurisdiction of the Privy Council and the Star Chamber to try or

determine any civil or criminal cause was abrogated, the Council still retained the power of examining and committing persons charged with offences. It was, however, enacted (a) that any persons so committed should, on application, have granted to him without any delay a writ of habeas corpus, (b) that on the return to the writ the cause of commitment should be specified and (c) that the prisoner should be delivered, bailed, or remanded, within three days. By this Act were abolished also the court of the President and Council of the North, the court of the President and Council of the Welsh Marches, the court of the Duchy of Lancaster, and the court of Exchequer of the County Palatine of Chester.

5. The *High Commission court* was abolished; the clause in the 1 Eliz c 1 by which it was created was repealed; and the ecclesiastical courts were deprived of all power to inflict fine, imprisonment or corporal punishment.

6. By other statutes purveyance was restrained, writs to compel the taking up of knighthood were abolished, and the boundaries of the royal forests reduced. Impressment for the army was also declared illegal, except in cases of necessity or invasion.

So far the statutory measures of the Long Parliament had effected no material change in the constitution; they had merely restored it to its former equipoise; two other statutes were, however, a departure from old lines. The first, inspired by distrust of Charles, provided that the existing parliament should not be prorogued or dissolved without its own consent; the second which deprived the bishops of their suffrages among the peers, was the outcome of the abuse of power by which they had become generally hated.

The Recess of 1641

During the recess a schism developed in the constitutional party, a large majority considering that the king had made sufficient concessions; the defections from the popular party increased daily, and

their cause was in the utmost peril. It was notorious that the king considered the majority of the Acts of the Long Parliament to be invalid, his assent having been given under compulsion. The Commons knew that he was bent on regaining his arbitrary powers, and feared the subversion of the constitution. As under Richard II, the question was one of absolute monarchy versus parliamentary government.

The Scotch Visit

Meanwhile Charles had gone to Edinburgh, where he attempted to win over the Parliament and Church of Scotland by supporting Presbyterianism, and showing favour to the Covenanters. At the same time he was searching for proofs of the correspondence of the English political leaders with the Scots, with the object of laying a charge of treason against the former. Hamilton and Argyle fell under suspicion, and the king assented to a design for their sudden arrest, which, however, they avoided by flight. This "incident" and the Irish rebellion raised the excitement against Charles to a still higher pitch, and when parliament met in October, 1641, the grand remonstrance was at once laid upon the table, and passed by a majority of 11.

The Grand Remonstrance

The preamble declared that the Commons had been struggling to restore the ancient honour, greatness and security of the nation and Crown. It denounced the court conspiracy to subvert the fundamental principle of government, and to degrade the Protestant religion, to discredit the authority of parliament, and to introduce popery.

The body of the remonstrance detailed the tyranny of the king and his government by prerogative, the practices of the court party, and the remedial Acts of the Long Parliament. It set forth the powerlessness of Commons without the aid of the Lords, it refuted the charge that they were attempting to abolish Church government, or had caused "sectaries and conventicles", and showed that their design was merely to suppress innovations, to reform the abuses

of episcopacy, and to reduce within bounds the power of the bishops.

It emphasized their desire for conformity, and suggested the appointment of a synod of divines to secure that result. Finally, it specified the remedial measures and demanded—

(i) That a standing commission should be appointed to safeguard the country from the designs of the Roman Catholics and that a test should be applied to discover false conformity.

(ii) That all illegal grievances and exactions should be presented and punished at the sessions and assizes, and that the judges should be sworn to the execution of the laws.

(iii) That parliament should be consulted in the choice of ministers, who should be sworn to observe the laws, and not to receive any reward or pension from any foreign power.

It was then moved that the remonstrance should be printed. Hyde opposed the plan and threatened to ask leave to protest; Palmer without leave actually did protest. On division it was decided that it should not be printed, Palmer's offence was, however, serious; his success would have divided the House against itself; he was committed to the Tower but released on apology. At the next sitting the remonstrance was ordered to be printed.

Attempted Arrest of the Five Members

The king again attempted to win over the leaders of the popular party by offering them places. This plan, however, failed, upon which he called to office the leaders of the opposition to the remonstrance and resumed his intention of crushing his opponents. The first blow was a royal message to the Lords impeaching of high treason Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons—Pym, Hampden, Haslerig, Hollis and Strode. The king demanded that their persons should be seized and a committee appointed to examine the charges; the Lords objected to the illegality of the accusation and demanded a conference

with the Commons. When the king's sergeant appeared in the Commons to demand the custody of the five members, a committee was appointed to inform the king that the accused were ready to answer any legal charge made against them. At the same time, by order of the House, an application for a guard was made to the Lord Mayor. The illegality of the impeachment was obvious, but Charles was not to be baulked; he made preparations for seizing the members by force. Whitehall was fortified, a guard was demanded from the Inns of Court, and a message sent to the Lord Mayor to send a guard for the king, not for the Commons.

The next morning the accused members attended in their place, and in a grand committee the House defended themselves from the charges laid against them, viz, of endeavouring to subvert the government and deprive the king of his power; of being the authors of the remonstrance, of tampering with the army; of having issued an invitation to the Scotch; of raising tumults and levying war against the king. The Commons voted the Articles of Impeachment a scandalous paper, and requested the aid of the Lords in punishing its authors. Forewarned of the approach of Charles the five members then withdrew, and the king entered the House only to find himself baffled. The attempted arrest was the final stage of the Grand Remonstrance. The immediate question upon which the quarrel ultimately turned was the command of the militia.

The Militia Bill, 1642

A large army was necessary to subdue the rebellion in Ireland. The Commons would not, however, place in the king's hands an instrument for their own overthrow. The Bill for the Regulation of the Militia, by which its control was placed in the hands of the Commons, was an infringement of the king's prerogative, but justified by circumstances.

On refusal of the king to give up the Command of militia, parliament offered the king the Nineteen Propositions. Its terms were disastrous for king's rule

in England. If he accepted them, his power would be nil and he would be a king only in name. He refused them.

Parliament broke up in disorder, but both sides began to prepare for war.

6 WILLIAM LAUD, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

Analysis :

Career :

Born at Reading, educated at Oxford. Became priest and Bishop of St. David. Bishop of London. Archbishop of Canterbury.

Policy :

- (a) To reform and strengthen Episcopacy.
- (b) To ensure uniformity of rituals and use of Prayer-Book.
- (c) To stifle Puritan pamphleteering and Campaign against his policy.

Achievements :

1. Set up High Church party.
2. Supported Charles I's theories of Divine Right and Prerogative Power, and personal rule.
3. Puritanism persecuted through High Commission court.

Failure .

Provoked Puritan opposition.

Evoked total dislike for Laudism in Scotland. Bishops' War.

Estimate .

Bold Benign to the poor. Strict disciplinarian. Supported Policy of "Thorough" of Wentworth. Died a martyr and saint.

Career

Laud was born at Reading, and gained high honours at the University of Oxford. He became a priest, and in 1621 Bishop of St. David's. Charles I made him Bishop of London in 1628, and five years later, Archbishop of Canterbury.

His views and ecclesiastical policy

Like the king Laud was opposed to the Puritans. His idea was to reform and strengthen episcopacy. By strengthening episcopacy he wanted to ensure uniformity of rituals and weed out some vulgar practices. For all these things he needed the king's absolute power. Thus arose the alliance between Charles and Laud.

In enforcing episcopacy he believed that uniformity in external things would ensure soundness of religion. In the interest of unity he enforced strict discipline. He stopped unlicensed preaching. He forbade Theological discussions, particularly on 'deep points' of pre-destination, prohibited Puritan writings, prohibited the gentry to keep private chaplains, and harassed the Puritan conventicles. He ordered that the *communion table* should not stand in the middle of the Church as people were using it as a 'hat-rack' and asked it to be railed off at the east end of the Church. To bring dignity to the Church he prohibited the *holding of cock-fights* in the precincts of Church. He ordered also that the *Book of Common Prayer* should be used in the services of the Church. He insisted that the clergy should put on *proper robes* while conducting services. In giving all these orders Laud was not making new rules for Church; he was only for obedience of the laws which had existed from before.

He was disliked by the Puritans for his reforms and orders towards uniformity in Church services. Some of the Puritans wrote books and pamphlets against him. They were tried before the Court of High Commission and fined and imprisoned.

Whenever he met any opposition he utilized the Crown's ecclesiastical supremacy to crush it. Most of his rigour fell on the 'Punished' by the Court of High Commission. In order to humiliate them further, he reissued a "Declaration of Lawful Sports" by which people were allowed to play games and practise archery on the village Commons on Sundays after they had attended Church. This was all anathema to the god-drunk Puritans who thought it wicked to play games on Sundays. In many districts they pulled down may-poles and stopped the Sunday-games. To dance on a Sunday was a great sin. To them Laud gave further offence by spending the money which he received from fines in beautifying the London Churches.

Effect of his policy

The whole policy of Laud caused resentment amongst many people. The gentry was hurt because

he had assailed its morals ; the squire hated him for the new importance attached to the person. The clergy did not like his officiousness. Inevitably, Laud touched the English people on the raw. That is why even his supporters regarded him as too rash. In the end it was contended that he was a catholic and was trying to reunite England with Rome. This suspicion was further confirmed when he was invited to be a cardinal by Rome. This he refused. All the same, his insistence on ceremonials and belief in sacraments offended the protestant feelings of the English people.

Episcopacy in Scotland

The whole policy came crashing down when he wanted to apply his system to Scotland. In this country religious problems very greatly agitated the minds of people. With the king's consent he issued a prayer book for use in Scottish Church. There was an uproar in Scotland, and the book could not be used there. The Court of High Commission was introduced there. In 1636 the king sanctioned new canons enjoining the recognition of the king as the Head of Church.

In introducing his reforms 'thoroughly' on the ecclesiastical side in Scotland, he was greatly influenced by the policy of 'Thorough' or absolutism of his lay friend Wentworth. It received a great blow in Scotland. The Scottish National Covenant, which met in 1637, rejected the recent religious reforms of Charles I. The assembly abolished episcopacy, condemned the prayer-book, and formally adopted Presbyterianism as the nation's religion. So started the Bishops' War of 1639 which led to the summoning of the Short Parliament in 1640, and then the Long Parliament in 1640, and finally resulted in the Civil War. Trevelyan even opines that 'the Civil War would have been averted but for this Scottish insurrection'.

One of the first acts of the Long Parliament was to impeach Laud. The Archbishop was thrown to the Tower where he remained for nearly four years. It was not till 1645 that he was tried for treason. He was sentenced to death and executed.

Estimate

Laud had many virtues. He was a strong disciplinarian ; he was bold, and defended the poor, in the interest of unity he hunted heretics. He was pious and earnest. Laud and Wentworth were associated with Charles's personal rule. Archbishop Laud belonged to the group of ecclesiastical statesmen of Dunstan and Wolsey. He is known as the *founder of the High Church Party* in the religious life of the Church of England. The political effect of his ecclesiastical policy was the 'furious reaction of armed Puritanism in which Laud himself perished'.

The zeal of Laud for his 'thorough' episcopacy policy was so much that it became intolerable for the Puritans to live in England and worship God freely. The emigration of the Puritans to America in these years was great. The activities of the Church Courts had increased, and influential laymen were summoned to answer for their sins before the priests. Meanwhile bishops were beginning to be favourite Councillors of the Crown, and censorship of Press, then in the hands of Laudian episcopate, was used to silence voices opposed to him or his ideas. The Laudian administration of the Church was thus very much disliked and hated as 'ecclesiastical absolutism', although the High Church Party was only a minority in the midst of different religious parties. As the Laudian clergy preached up the doctrine of 'divine right' and 'prerogative power', it became synonymous with the cause of personal despotism of Charles I. In fact his connection with Charles did the king a great deal of harm ; for, he was greatly disliked by the Puritans.

There were two opinions about Laud in his own days. But today nobody approves of his execution, not even those who dislike his acts, while men who think he acted rightly regard him as a martyr and a saint.

THE CIVIL WAR, 1642—49.*Analysis*

Signal for Civil War was given when Charles was refused admittance to Hull.

Causes :

- (1) Political : Conflict over sovereignty . Royal Prerogative Vs Parliamentary Privilege.
- (2) Religious : High Church System and anti-Puritanism of Laud
- (3) Economic : Trade and Commerce made people affluent and assertive.
- (4) Administrative : Degeneration of administration and favouritism.
- (5) Change of times : Charles I personally stiff and imbued with Divine Right theory of Kingship, and Parliament assertive and lover of supremacy of Common Law.
- (6) Immediate cause : Attempt to arrest five M. Ps.

Preparation and Distribution :

King and Parliament prepared in their own way and ranged against each other.

First Period of Civil War, 1642—46.

Battle of Edgehill 1642.

Battle of Chalgrove, 1642 . Royalist victory.

Siege of Gloucester, 1642 . Royalist Success.

Battle of Newbury, 1643, Parliamentary Victory.

Battle of Marston Moor, 1644 . Parliamentary victory.

Battle of Naseby, 1646. Parliamentary Victory. Surrender of Charles I.

Second Period (Truce) of Civil War 1646—48.

Quarrel between Army and Parliament.

Charles's intrigue with Scots.

Third Period of (or Second) Civil War, 1648—49.

Scots and Presbyterians *versus* Army.

Defeat of the Scots at Preston, 1648.

Pride's Purge.

Charles I executed.

Criticism on Justification of execution. Causes of failure of Charles I.

The Signal for Civil War

When Charles went to the House of Commons to arrest five members and found that they had already left, he moved northwards to York. Here he was joined by many noblemen and members of the Commons. Thence he went to Hull, but was refused admittance by the Parliamentary Commander. Both sides now began to make ready for war. War became inevitable now. It was called the "Great Rebellion" by the Royalist side, and the "Great Civil War" by both sides.

Causes

The politico-social conditions of England in the seventeenth-century were very much explosive for the outbreak of a civil war or revolution.

Firstly, the real fundamental cause of the Civil War was Charles's attempt to trample under foot the liberties of the people by overriding the authority of Parliament. His government was marked by illegal taxation and arbitrary imprisonment. In a word, Charles violated the fundamental principles of the English constitution and set the royal prerogative above law. The king had an exalted sense about his 'royal prerogative' whereas the parliament extolled its privileges. Both cannot claim sovereignty, and so a conflict between the king and parliament was inevitable over this issue.

Secondly, to this political grievance was added his religious tyranny. His attempts to enforce Laud's system of religion produced widespread discontent especially among the Puritans. They regarded the outward forms to which Laud exacted conformity as a pathway to Rome. Embittered by the king's policy in matters both civil and religious the people were driven to take up arms to defend their liberties and conscience. The Puritans in England had felt the pinch of oppression at the hands of the Stuart kings as they had no freedom to worship God. From the days of Millenary Petition the misgivings of the Puritans mounted on. They now realised that they could not get their grievances redressed by appealing to the king directly and so they sought the help of

parliament to get their point of view accepted. The parliaments supported the cause of the Puritans, and religious issue got mixed up with constitutional issue, and Pym and Hampden were their accredited leaders.

Thirdly, there were economic reasons at work in bringing about the Civil War. The members of parliament were now affluent due to commercial and trading enterprises. They could afford to be arrogant and uncompromising. London was their stronghold. The middle class gentry formed the core of parliamentary strength.

Fourthly, the Stuart government had degenerated, a general rottenness had crept in and the rule of the Justices of the Peace was supplanted by a bureaucratic machinery run by royal favourites. Charles's greatest deficiency was money and munitions of war. Charles failed to avert the Scottish invasion because the administrative system collapsed after the Short Parliament. The financial insufficiency of the Stuarts was the canker that ate into the strength of the crown.

Fifthly, another fundamental cause of the civil war was the changed circumstances. There had been a great change since 1603 in the internal and international political spheres. The people themselves had gained courage and assertiveness and reverence for common law and Parliamentary privileges which were pitted against the hollow boasts of the Stuart king who took shelter under cover of "Divine Right of kingship." The personal character of the first two Stuarts was also unequal to the tempo of problems that appeared on the scene.

The *immediate circumstances* which precipitated the crisis were Charles's attempt to arrest five members of Parliament and his refusal to agree to the Militia Bill. This bill sought to transfer the command of the militia from officers chosen by the king to officers appointed by Parliament. As Charles would not surrender his control over the army, the rupture was complete. Charles raised troops and set up his standard at Nottingham as a signal that the Civil War had begun in 1642.

Criticism

From a survey of the causes, as above, it has been questioned whether the Civil War was a religious or a political struggle. The answer is that it was both. The Parliament and the Puritans combined to dispute the king's right to lay down the law in Church and State. Thus the question at issue was whether the sovereignty resided in king alone, or in king and Parliament. The nation might have found some solution of this question had it not been split over the question of religion. There is no doubt that religion accentuated differences which might otherwise have been almost unnoticed. The Puritans showed themselves as uncompromising as the Churchmen of Laud's school. The questions of religion and politics were so intricately mixed up that it was found impossible to disentangle them. In fact, religion played a very important part in the civil war.

Preparations

Both sides now raised forces. The Parliament employed their lords-lieutenant. The Parliament named the Earl of Essex Captain-general of its forces. Essex was a fair soldier and an honest man, but too cautious. To pay their troops the Commons made an order for levying tonnage and poundage.

The king issued commissions of array. He was worse off financially, and had to rely on the generosity of his followers.

Distribution

It is not easy to draw a geographical line between the two parties. In every county some were for the king and some for the Parliament. High churchmen and Roman Catholics followed Charles. Puritans and Separatists followed the Parliament. Roughly speaking, however, if we draw a line from Hull to Gloucester, thence to Bristol, and from there to Weymouth, we shall find that the majority on the south and east were for the Parliament, on the north and west for the king. Two great exceptions were there. The University of Oxford supported the king ;

the clothing towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire went with the Parliament.

The towns and the richer districts were with the Parliament. The poorer followed the king. All ranks were divided; noblemen and gentlemen fought on either side. The tradespeople as a rule were Parliamentary, especially the Londoners. The poorer classes usually went with their landlords. Men of equal nobility and purity of motive were to be found on either side.

The Civil War—First Period, 1642-46

The campaigns of the first two years centred around London. Both sides used cavalry freely and resorted to impressment. The first battle was fought at Edgehill in 1642. It was indecisive but the Royalists had the advantage. At Chalgrove the Parliamentary army was beaten and Hampden was killed. The Royalists were also victorious at Stratton and Adwalton Moor. Charles then laid siege to Gloucester but was compelled to raise it. In 1643 an indecisive battle was fought at Newbury in which the Royalists suffered heavy loss.

About this time Oliver Cromwell organised the Eastern counties into an association which set up a new army called Ironsides on behalf of Parliament.

After two years of fighting both parties tried to secure allies. Charles looked to Ireland, and Parliament to Scotland for possible assistance. In 1643 Parliament signed a treaty with the Scots, called the Solemn League and Covenant by which the Scots promised to fight for the Parliamentary party, if Presbyterianism was established as the state religion in England. The Scots sent ten regiments.

In 1644 Cromwell with the help of the Scottish army defeated the Royalist forces at Marston Moor. This defeat utterly ruined the king's cause in the north. At the Second Battle of Newbury the Royalists were again routed.

In Scotland the Earl of Montrose took up the Royalist cause and captured one district after another.

Alarmed at the success of the Royalists Cromwell passed a "Self-denying ordinance" by which members of Parliament were deprived of their commands. This was an ingenious plan for getting rid of incompetent Parliamentary generals. But Cromwell was retained because his services were too valuable to be dispensed with. Cromwell then formed the *New Model Army* composed of well-trained soldiers and placed it under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax. The model army was composed mostly of Independents. They held that each congregation had the right to worship in its own way. They were opposed both to Episcopacy and Presbyterianism.

At Naseby Cromwell and Fairfax inflicted a crushing defeat on the Royalists in 1646. At the same time Charles's Scottish ally, Montrose, was beaten at Philiphaugh. After this Charles surrendered to the Scots in 1646, who delivered him up to Parliament.

Period of Truce, 1646-48

Soon after surrender a quarrel broke out between the Army and Parliament. The quarrel arose partly out of religious differences and partly out of rivalry for the control of the state affairs. Parliament had a majority of Presbyterian members and it proposed to restore the king to his full authority if he would consent to the establishment of Presbyterianism. The army which was composed mostly of independents objected to such a course. Charles took advantage of this quarrel and began to intrigue both with Parliament and the Army, and tried to play off the one against the other. Now that the war with the king was over, Parliament sought to disband the Army even without paying the soldiers their arrears of pay. The army objected; it secured the person of the king and ejected from the House of Commons eleven Presbyterian leaders most hostile to it. The Army next offered to open negotiations with Charles. It brought forward a document called "*Heads of Proposals*" containing the conditions on which it was willing to restore the king. The most important condition was

toleration to all religious parties except the Roman Catholics. Charles refused to comply with the proposals of the Army and fled to the Isle of Wight. Here he was detained as prisoner in the Carlsbrooke castle.

From his confinement in the Carlsbrooke castle Charles began to intrigue with the Scots and entered into a secret agreement with them called Engagement. By it, he agreed to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years and to suppress the Independents if the Scots would restore him to the English throne.

Last period of Second Civil War, 1648-49

The English presbyterians joined hands with the Scots against the Army. The result was that a Second Civil War began—the Scots and presbyterians on the one side and the Army on the other. There were risings in favour of the king in Kent and Essex, while the Duke of Hamilton led a Scottish Army into Eng and. Fairfax put down the insurrections in Kent and Essex by capturing Colchester, while Cromwell fell upon the Scots and defeated Hamilton's army at Preston in 1648. All England was now at the mercy of the new Model Army. In the meanwhile Parliament tried to renew negotiations with the king. But the army, by this time, had lost all patience with the king and Parliament, and wanted to punish Charles for his incurable duplicity. Colonel Pride forcibly drove out all the presbyterian members of the House of Commons who sought a reconciliation with the king. This incident is known as *Pride's Purge*. After this the minority of Independent members who were known as the *Rump*, accused the king of treason and executed him after a formal trial in 1649.

Effect of Execution of Charles I

The execution of Charles greatly shocked popular feeling; for the nation as a whole did not want to proceed to such an extreme. Moreover, his dignified bearing at the time of his execution excited uni-

versal admiration. So a strong reaction began in favour of monarchy. Indeed, it was true that as long as Charles lived there could be no peace in England and no liberty for the people. But there was no guarantee that the rule of the Army would safeguard popular institutions and popular liberties. The army could fight but could not re-construct the society. As a matter of fact the execution of the king was followed by the break-down of the English constitution and military despotism took the place of royal tyranny.

Why the King Failed ?

It is not hard to see why the king failed in the civil war that began in 1642. There were many causes responsible for the failure of the King :

In the first place, it was the king's own fault. He might have won in 1642, but he missed his chance. The Royalists made a tactical mistake. The King's indecision and retreat after the battle of Edgehill was a fatal mistake. When he was within a short radius of London, he should have made a dash towards London and not given time to the Parliament to muster strength. It was a blunder to retire to Oxford after the battle of Edgehill.

Secondly, the King's support depended on North and West of England whereas South east England was under the influence of the Parliament. London also was under the control of the Parliament. London was a great centre of trade and commerce. The merchant class, therefore, supported the Parliament. As such, Parliament was never short of funds, whereas the King found it very difficult to meet all his expenses.

Thirdly, the Parliament received very great active help from Scotland. But the King's banking on Ireland did not yield much result. The Scottish army played a decisive role in the course of the civil war.

Fourthly, the organisation of the army by Cromwell and the institution of the Ironsides and the New Model Army became the strongest point of the Parliament. But for this the Parliamentary victory would

not have been won. The King's army was no match for the well-trained and well-equipped soldiers of Cromwell. Moreover, the king's defeat was due to the navy who remained loyal to Parliament, and London could not be blockaded to submission.

The King did not have any 'military general' of first rate ability. Prince Rupert, the Commander of the Royalists, was a young and inexperienced general—no match for Cromwell and Fairfax. Cromwell, on the other hand, was the best general of the day. His military skill and army organisation had no parallel in the army of the King. Militarily, therefore, Parliamentary side had a great advantage over the King's side.

Lastly, it may be mentioned that the mistakes committed by the King and his scheme of playing the Parliament and the army against each other, made him still more unpopular and untrustworthy and it ultimately led to his ruin.

Execution of Charles I. criticism on

The execution of Charles I was an unthinkable incident in English history. There were strong currents of feelings for and against a king in English character. The people would quarrel with a king, make him submit to people's wishes, but at the same time would like to adore him and rally round him. But it was too much when the people executed their King. Legally, there was no justification for trying the King, as no process can issue against the sovereign. Besides, the court which sentenced him to death was irregular being unknown to law, and was moreover influenced by extremely partisan spirit. From that point of view, execution of Charles I was not justified.

The justification was sought on moral and political grounds. The execution of Charles I was, as Cromwell said, "a cruel necessity." It was cruel because it was an extreme measure involving the death of a king. It was a necessity because without it there would have been no liberty for Englishmen. Charles I was so strongly imbued with his ideas of royal prerogative that he would not submit to any constitutional

limitation of his power. He was on several occasions forced to yield to Parliamentary pressure, but on each occasion he eluded his promises. His dealings with Parliament were throughout marked by duplicity, and so there could be no peace as long as Charles lived. Hence as no compromise with him was possible, the only alternative was to get rid of him. 'What cannot be mended must be ended'—so goes the English proverb.

INTER-REGNUM

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE
1649—60 (11 YEARS)

Chief Characters of the Commonwealth

Oliver Cromwell ; Fairfax ; John Milton ; Sir Henry Vane ;
Henry Cromwell ; Ireton ; Lambert ; Fleetwood ; Blake ,
Penn , Richard ; Cromwell ; and Monk.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns.

France
Louis XIV
1643—1715

Holland
William of Orange
1647—1650

1. THE COMMONWEALTH

Analysis :

The Rump of Long Parliament : An oligarchy. Its composition. Its problems and sources of strength. End of the Rump by Cromwell.

The Rump

After the execution of Charles I England was without a king for eleven years. By this time only about sixty members of the Long Parliament were left. They still called themselves Parliament, but people commonly called them the "Rump (that is, the residue of the Long Parliament after the Pride's Purge). The Rump thought that it had a right to rule the country.

The Rump Parliament, instead of calling for new elections, as had been expected, continued to sit as the 'representatives of the people', although they represented the sentiments of only a small fraction of the people. England was now in the hands of an oligarchy whose sole support was the vigorous army of Cromwell. The Rump voted that the House of Lords 'is useless, dangerous and ought to be abolished'. They then resolved—the government by a King or

single person 'is unnecessary, burdensome, dangerous and ought to be abolished.' It passed an Act abolishing the monarchy and the House of Lords and declaring the people of England to be a Commonwealth (that is, a Republic) and free state. A council of state was then appointed to carry on the government. It reserved to itself all the legislative powers also. The Rump had thus become all-powerful in the state.

Its Problems

Menacing conditions confronted the newly born Commonwealth. Not a court in Europe was friendly. The French ambassador withdrew; the Czar expelled the English minister. War with Scotland and with Holland was imminent. A real danger lay in Ireland, Mutiny and unrest showed that the execution of Charles had infused new life into the Royalists. Under these circumstances, the Commonwealth would have perished but for three resources of strength.

- (1) its financial resources were adequate - Customs duties were collected regularly, excise taxes were levied and confiscated royalist estates were sold;
- (2) its enemies had no well-drilled armies; and
- (3) its own army was remarkably successful.

End of the Rump

There were Royalist sympathisers in Ireland and Scotland. They were defeated by Cromwell. Cromwell chased Charles II out of England. The Commonwealth had now become safe. In 1653 for reasons of corruption and favouritism Cromwell resolved to put an end to the Rump, of which he was a member. But the Rump refused to be dissolved. At this Cromwell expelled the Rump by force. Thus the army had destroyed the Commons as well as Monarchy and the Lords.

2. CAREER OF CROMWELL

Analysis :

Cromwell becomes M. P. in 1628. With Civil War Cromwell comes to the lime-light. Found New Model Army and gains victories against Royalists.

After execution of Charles I he becomes supreme in command. Becomes Lord Protector.

Career : Oliver Cromwell was related distantly to Henry VIII's famous minister Thomas Cromwell. Born in 1599 he was educated in the Cambridge University. He knew three foreign languages of Greek, Latin and Dutch. He started his career with the management of his own farm at Huntingdon.

He is first seen in the public life in 1628 when he became a member of Parliament. From the beginning he showed rebellious tendencies. He attacked the religious policy of the Stuart Kings and supported Puritanism. He refused to adjourn at the king's order till Sir John Elliot's resolution had been passed. During the eleven years of personal rule of Charles I, 1629-40, Cromwell shaped his career, but was not very much prominent.

Cromwell was elected to the Long Parliament from the University of Cambridge. He did not come to the front line, as he was not a good orator. He however, expressed his anger over religious policies of the Stuart Kings. He strongly advocated the abolition of Episcopacy.

Cromwell was noticed in full form when the civil war broke out. He joined the Roundheads with sixty horses. He fought in the battle of Edgehill till the end. In 1643 when Charles planned a detailed attack on London, Cromwell rose to the occasion. He organised the famous "Eastern Association" which contributed to the success of the Roundheads. In Marston Moor he showed his mettle and military genius, and the Royalists were routed.

After Naseby Cromwell had troubles with Parliament. Parliament was then largely composed of Presbyterian element, and wanted to establish Presbyterianism in England. But Cromwell would not. Then Cromwell broke off with Parliament, and sent his Army to capture the king. He then tried to settle matters with Charles to whom he offered terms called "the Heads of Proposals". Charles was not agreeable to the terms and wanted to regain his position. Cromwell led the Army and defeated the Royalists at Preston and captured Charles. Cromwell

then sent Col. Pride to expel or arrest the Presbyterian members of the Commons and allow his Independents to enter the Houses of Parliament. This "Rump" of the Long Parliament sanctioned execution of Charles I. By 1649 Cromwell had become the master of England.

Soon after the execution of Charles I Cromwell was confronted with the Royalist risings in Scotland and Ireland. He suppressed these and came back to London to settle English affairs. He soon found it difficult to pull on with "the Rump," which did not like to dissolve itself. At last in a fit of anger, Cromwell went to Parliament, drove out the members and locked the House. Cromwell now became a factual Dictator.

After the dissolution of the Rump of the Long Parliament, Cromwell made experiments in the constitution though till at last he became the Protector in 1653; and as Protector he ruled England until his death in 1658.

Character

Oliver Cromwell was the most important interesting figure in Seventeenth Century England. He belonged by birth to the class of country gentlemen and was a devoted pleader for liberty of Puritan preaching. He was simple in attire but his voice was 'sharp and untuneable'. His fervid eloquence and energy soon made him a likeable man. From the civil war Cromwell emerged as an unequalled military leader, the idol of his soldiers fearing God but not man. He held a belief that he was performing God's work and had intense religious zeal. He was an Independent who believed that each local congregation of Christians should be practically free, and that 'prelacy' or the episcopal form of Church government and 'popery' or Roman Catholic Christianity were not to be tolerated. In private life he was fond of 'honest sport', of music and art. In public life he was a man of great forcefulness. He was a statesman of signal ability, aiming to secure good government and economic prosperity for England and religious freedom for Protestant Dissenters.

3. CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS AND HOME POLICY OF CROMWELL

Analysis :

Constitutional Experiments .

Pre-Protectorate period . 1. Heads of Proposals.
2. Rump of Parliament,
3. Barebone's Parliament.
4. Instrument of Government.

Protectorate Period : 1. First Protectorate Parliament.
2. Rule of Major Generals
3. Humble Petition and Advice.

Failure of Constitutional Experiments. Reasons.

Domestic Reforms : All round reforms touching all aspects of life—Court, Law.

Cromwell was intensely associated with the mid-seventeenth century politics of England. He was a member of the Long Parliament. He was keen to establish good government in the island ; but was a keen partisan, a maker and leader of the New Model Army which interfered in politics. In his ardent desire to win the consent of the English nation to his authority or to draw up a constitution that would be liked by the people, Cromwell displayed long hesitation and indecision in making up his mind. This was due to a number of constitutional experiments that were thought out or implemented during the political career of Cromwell. These experiments may be classed under two periods : pre-Protectorate and Protectorate periods.

Pre-Protectorate period : First Experiment

After the battle of Naseby when Charles surrendered to the Scots, who turned him over to the army, the Army and the Parliamentary party fell out over terms of negotiations with the king. The quarrel arose partly out of religious differences and partly out of rivalry for the control of the State affairs. Parliament had a majority of Presbyterian members and the Army Independents.

The Parliament wanted to restore the king, have an Anglican religious settlement, and secure Parliamentary control for twenty years. Certain Army

leaders wanted to restore the king, establish an episcopal form of Church government with religious toleration, create uniform Parliamentary districts, and adopt more liberal suffrage laws.

Cromwell struck a middle course and formulated the *Heads of Proposals* in an effort to reconcile different opinions. This was his first Constitutional Experiment, but it was not accepted by the king. It was drawn up by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, and signed by Fairfax and included—

- (I) *Temporary safeguards against the king* : a militia for 10 years, and a Council of State for 7 years to be under the control of Parliament to manage foreign affairs and the army ; and no ex-Royalists to hold office for 5 years or sit in Parliament for 4 years. Ministers were to be appointed by Parliament.
- (II) *Permanent safeguards against Parliament* : (a) *Reform* : bi-ennial Parliaments and re-distribution of seats ; (b) *Toleration* : All coercive restrictions upon worship to be withdrawn. Episcopacy to be state religion.
- (III) *General Reform of Taxation, Commerce and Judicial Procedure*
- (IV) *General Act of Oblivion*

Second Experiment

The Rule of the Rump : During the period 1649-53, after the execution of Charles I (1649) England was a Commonwealth, that is, a republic. The government during these years was in the hands of the Rump of the Long Parliament. It abolished the king and the House of Lords, and claimed to be everything—the King, Lords and Commons, because it had swallowed them all up,

The Rump governed England with an absolute authority. There was none to control it. It passed any laws it pleased, pursued whatever policy suited it and entrusted the administration of the country to a Council of State of forty-one, and to various committees.

The Rump had over-stepped its limits and became overbearing. Cromwell soon found it difficult to pull on with the Rump Parliament. When it refused to dissolve itself, Cromwell ended it by turning away the

members with the aid of his soldiers and locked the doors. Thus ended the rule of the Rump which was lately disliked by the people.

Third Experiment : Barebones's Parliament

After arbitrarily dissolving the Rump (1658), Cromwell and his Council of State broke with tradition. He selected 140 men to constitute a legislative body or convention. This was called Barebone's Parliament after the name of one of its members, or Puritan Convention.

It was not really a Parliament, because its members were not elected by the people, but were appointed by Cromwell and his puritan advisers. It was a meeting-together of "godly men," or a "Parliament of Saints". These new legislators were good Independents - faithful and ungreedy. They felt that God had called them to rule in righteousness. They zealously carried out several reforms. Public expenditure was reduced, taxes equalised, and a code of laws was compiled. It abolished the system of civil marriage and the tithes. It wanted to reform the religious system, which made Cromwell soon find that the godly men were unable to help him in ruling the country, and sent them away only after a short period of five months.

Fourth Experiment : The Instrument of Government

Upon the failure of this experiment Cromwell's supporters in the army prepared an "Instrument of Government" or Constitution. By this, the *first written Constitution* in modern times - a "Protectorate" was established :

Under this Instrument of Government Cromwell became "Lord Protector" for life. He was to be the chief executive head and to govern with the aid of a small permanent Council of State, consisting of 21 men—all nominated. A Parliament of 460 members (400 English, 30 Scotch and 30 Irish members) was established whose members were not to be vetoed by the Protector, except when they were contrary to the fundamentals of the Constitution. In this Parliament 30 seats were granted to Ireland and 30 to Scotland. Parliaments were to meet at least every three years,

to make laws and to levy taxes. Puritanism was made the state religion.

The Instrument of Government established in fact a limited monarchy in all but name. The object of its framers was to prevent absolutism both of the Protector and the Parliament. It was framed with due checks and balances. The powers of the Protector and the Parliament having been defined, no alteration in their respective position was possible.

Protectorate Period

First Experiment of the Instrument : This first Protectorate Parliament met in 1654. It began not with pursuing its business or routine, but by discussing the new constitution and the very legality of the Instrument.

The first Parliament was important for three reasons. (1) It consisted of only one House ; (2) it was the first national Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland rather than of England alone ; (3) its members were elected on a reformed basis of representation, and right of representation was transferred from many small places to more important towns.

Cromwell had trouble with his first Parliament. He sent home about one-fourth of its members for refusing to agree to leave untouched the "fundamentals" of the document : then later he dismissed the rest of the group.

Second Experiment : Rule of the Major-Generals : After its dissolution Cromwell tried for a time a new experiment in local government. For a while he carried on government without Parliament. To preserve order and still the growing unrest among the people, he divided the country into eleven military districts and stationed over each a "Major General" whose business it was to supervise the militia, to prevent Royalist plots, and to stimulate the local authorities in enforcing the various laws. These officers naturally increased discontent, as it was the act of a military despotism.

Third Experiment : Humble petition and Advice : Cromwell realised that his "military rule" had become

unpopular and that he must summon a parliament. In 1656 he called the Second Protectorate Parliament (1656-58). Cromwell took care to ensure that rebellious elements were not included in the Parliament. Franchise was limited, elections were controlled and major-generals exerted their pressure. He hunted out the hostile elements in the Parliament by force. The 'faithful' group now discontinued the rule of major-generals and drafted the *Humble Petition and Advice*. In it they requested Cromwell to assume the title of 'Kirk' and to govern with the aid of two-house Parliament. He refused to accept the title of king, and he continued as Lord Protector.

When the Parliament was called into session in 1658, the two houses wrangled with each other so much over questions of privilege that Cromwell in a few weeks dismissed them in disgust.

Thereafter Cromwell ruled alone. After seven months he died with the 'problem of how to combine popular control with his own rule still unsolved.'

Critical estimate of Experiments

Failure. Cromwell carried on experiment after experiment in search of a stable constitution based on the consent of the people, that is, the control of the English people as expressed in a freely elected Parliament. In other words, he wanted to fix a legal wig upon the point of the soldiers's sword. As his rule was not based on popular support, the wig fell off and the naked sword became visible. Thus parliament after parliament was called, but they were unmanageable, as basically there were many differences among them. They were split over religious beliefs, and attitude to toleration.

Cromwell had attempted a unique experiment in England. He did away with the traditional monarchical form of government and tried to establish new form of administration in the country. But all his attempts failed and in 1660 the country again reverted to the old monarchical form of government.

The greatest cause of his failure was that all his experiments in constitution-making were based on

force and brute force, There was no co-operation from the side of the people Cromwell's army thrust the various experiments upon an unwilling people and the standing army of the Protector always threatened the life and liberty of the people. Nothing that is based on sheer force can last long, and the same happened with the experiments of Cromwell

Moreover, Cromwell made a wrong beginning with his experiments. The execution of King Charles in 1649 was an unprecedented event in English history. Immediately after execution there started a strong reaction in England in favour of monarchy. The rule of Cromwell became doomed from the fourth day. King Charles was executed. This execution, therefore, was a great blunder committed by Cromwell.

The successor of Cromwell was also not upto his task. Richard Cromwell had no aptitude or capability to shoulder the huge responsibilities that fell on his shoulders after the death of Cromwell. If nothing else, Cromwell at least evoked respect and devotion from army. The army could never forget the role that Cromwell had played during the course of the Civil War in England. Cromwell as a military general and leader was adored by the army. But Richard had no such qualification. He was not upto the mark and certain historians style him "Tumbledown Dick". He was ruler first and a military leader afterwards. Cromwell was ruler because he was a military leader where as Richard was a military leader, because he was the ruler. This made a great difference to the army. Thus, Richard had neither the support of the people, nor that of the army. He, therefore, could not continue the task of Cromwell and quietly abdicated within less than a year from his accession.

Thus the various constitutional experiments of Cromwell ended in failure.

Domestic Policy

Cromwell was a great reformer. During his short rule of less than ten years he carried out many reforms. The Treasury was reorganised. Arrangements were made for the maintenance of highways. A

system of civil marriages was established. Many ordinances were passed for the "reformation of manners." Duelling, swearing, race meeting and cockfights were prohibited. He tried to carry out some legal reforms: Court of Chancery was abolished: and attempts were made to reform the Penal Code. Under him a scheme of 'Parliamentary reform' was carried out and three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland were united for the first time under a single parliament.

He also did his best to encourage education. A major portion of the confiscated Church lands was allotted to the maintenance of schools. He liberally patronised the old universities and particularly the Cambridge and Oxford. He, for years, acted as a Chancellor of the Oxford University. Besides, he founded a new University, the University of Durham.

He was also a great patron of learning. Milton and Marvell, the two renowned literary figures of his day were his secretaries. Cowley and Waller, in spite of their being royalists, were allowed perfect freedom of thought.

Religious Policy

As for Cromwell's religious policy, he believed in religious toleration. But he did not grant toleration to the followers of the Popish religion. He was also not very much favourably disposed towards the Anglican Church and at times persecuted it.

He is noted for his attempt to reform the general morals of the Church. He chose thirty-eight commissioners, the "Triers" as they were called from among the laity and the Church and entrusted them the patronage of most of the ecclesiastical offices. These "Triers" were to investigate into the details of the character of the man who sought appointment to any church office. It was only on their recommendations that final sanction of appointment was given.

As for the Jews and the Quakers, they enjoyed perfect freedom of thought in the Cromwellian regime. It was, therefore, that a large number of Jews poured into England during this period.

4. CROMWELL'S FOREIGN POLICY

Analysis :

- Aims : 1. To support cause of Protestantism in Europe.
 2. To prevent Stuart Restoration by foreign aid.
 3. To extend English Commerce.

Relations with Holland.

Dutch Wars

Navigation Acts.

Relations with Denmark and Sweden.

Relations with France.

War with France averted,

Relations with Spain.

War with Spain, Success.

Relations with Ireland.

Relations with Scotland.

Commercial Enterprises.

Criticism of Foreign Policy.

Aims

Cromwell's foreign policy was at once vigorous and successful. It had certain definite aims in view, viz :

- (a) to support the cause of Protestantism in Europe,
- (b) to prevent Stuart Restoration by foreign aid, and
- (c) to extend English commerce.

Aim to form "Protestant League" : It was Cromwell's dearest wish to form a Protestant League against the Catholic nations of Europe in order to propagate Protestantism abroad. But before he could realise his wishes, Holland, one of the prominent Protestant States, was to be brought round.

Dutch Wars

There were several factors which had widened the gulf between England and Holland. *Firstly*, Holland was a great commercial rival in the East Indies. About a quarter century back, the Dutch had brutally massacred the Englishmen in the Spice Island (Massacre of Amboyna, 1623) and had ousted the English from the East Indies. Besides, the Dutch had

concluded a treaty with Denmark in order to injure the English trade in the Baltic. *Secondly*, William Orange of Holland had married the daughter of Charles I and thus, the ruler of Holland had become a source of annoyance to Cromwell. *Thirdly*, the English ambassador at the Hague was murdered by Dutch.

These factors led Cromwell to sponsor his famous Navigation Act of 1651. But as this Navigation Act did not bring the Dutch to right path, Cromwell declared war in 1652. This was waged for about two years. Several naval engagements were fought. Sometimes Blake, the Commander of the English fleet, was successful and sometimes Trompe, the Dutch admiral, won victories in the English Channel. At last both sides got exhausted. As Cromwell, from the beginning, was thinking of forming an alliance with the Protestant States, negotiations for peace thereupon began. A treaty was signed between Holland and England by which the former agreed,

(a) to carry out the provisions of Navigation Act and

(b) to acknowledge the supremacy of the English in the English waters.

Alliances with the Protestant Nations of Europe

Peace with Holland was followed by Treaties with other Northern Protestant States—Denmark and Sweden.

Having at last succeeded in establishing friendship with the Protestant States of Europe, he turned his attention towards the Catholic States—Spain and France. In those days both France and Spain were persecuting the Protestants. Cromwell, as the champion of Protestants, would not tolerate that the English Protestants in those kingdoms should suffer.

Relations with France

First he turned towards France. He learnt that the French general, Duke of Savoy, had put to sword a large number of Protestants in Piedmont including most of the English Protestants. The Protector,

forthwith, lodged a protest. Louis XIV, the French ruler, was a very shrewd man. He would not afford to lose the sympathies of Cromwell. He forthwith ordered Savoy to abandon the policy of persecution. And thus a war with France was averted.

War against Spain

As regards Spain, Cromwell also demanded from its ruler that the English merchants in his dominions should not be subjected to the 'Inquisition' and that he should throw open the West Indian trade to the English traders.

As Spain hesitated to give an early reply, Cromwell declared war. An English naval expedition was sent to Hispaniola (1655). Blake, the Commander of the English fleet, blockaded the Spanish coast and destroyed the Spanish Treasure fleet at Santa Cruz. Besides an alliance with France, the English attacked the Spanish Netherlands (1657-58). On the whole, Cromwell came out successful in the Spanish war. He got Jamaica in America and Dunkirk in Europe. Jamaica, ever since, is held by the English. Besides, these territorial gains, Cromwell's prestige was greatly enhanced.

Relations with Ireland and Scotland

Ormond, the leader of the Irish Royalists, had raised the standard of revolt. Cromwell found it very difficult to suppress the Irish rebels. He remained in Ireland for about a year and still could not completely subjugate the whole of Ireland. Drogheda, Londonderry, Wexford, Waterford, Cashel and Kilkenny were the only forts which he was able to capture. Cromwell at last left the conquest of the remaining part of Ireland in the hands of his generals who completed it in 1658.

As Ireland had given him much trouble and it was a country of the Catholics, Cromwell settled its affairs with vengeance. The land was taken from the Roman Catholic landowners and was distributed among Cromwell's soldiers or English Protestants. It is believed that about two-thirds of the whole arable land in Ireland was distributed to the new

proprietors. Many new restrictions were imposed on the Catholics. In return for this tyrannical regime, Cromwell, however, granted some compensations to the Irish people. Free Trade was established between England and Ireland. Representation in the London Parliament was granted to Ireland. Thus England and Ireland saw a loose political and economic union in the Cromwellian regime.

Hardly had he settled the Irish affair, when circumstances demanded him to march to Scotland. In Scotland most of the people had taken up the cause of Charles II. Cromwell hastened there. Two fierce engagements were fought between the English and the Scots, first at Dunbar which was indecisive and the second at Worcester which resulted in the victory of Cromwell. But still most of Scotland remained unsubdued. Cromwell, therefore, left General Monk to subjugate the rest of Scotland. Monk completed the conquest in 1654.

Cromwell and the Empire

The Protector was a great imperialist. It was the Protector who granted liberal charters to the East India Company. It was he who urged the East India Company to discard its old "Regulated Systems" and organise the Company according to the Joint Stock principles. It was he who compelled the Dutch Government to grant compensation to the sufferers of the massacre of Amboyna and thereby restore once again the old prestige of the English in the East. It was he who, by his Navigation Act (1651) strengthened the British and Colonial Navies and checked the other nations to exploit the resources of the British Empire. Besides, his wars with Spain and Holland were also actuated mostly by imperialistic motives.

Cromwell's foreign policy raised England from the low position she had reached under the first two Stuarts. He won for her a very prominent and respectable position in Europe. An historian has said,—"the greatness of Cromwell at home was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad".

One historian has criticised his foreign policy as

'faulty in principle'. He failed to realise that Spain was declining and France growing in strength. So by helping France against Spain he helped France all the more which grew to be a menace to European peace and Balance of power.

5. CROMWELL'S ACHIEVEMENTS

Analysis :

Military genius. Established order. Precursor of Modernism. Foreign success. Failure in Constitutional Experiments

Estimate

Cromwell occupies a very prominent place in English history. He was a beloved leader of an army respected for its rigid discipline and feared for its grim mercilessness. It was his *military genius* that led to the victory of Parliament over the king during the First and Second Civil Wars. In fact, it was the victory of the rights of man over the rights of autocrats. Had Parliament suffered a defeat in the Civil War, the cause of democracy would have suffered a terrible setback. Besides, the execution of Charles I, though later on condemned by sentimentalists, was a great step towards democracy. The fate of Charles I was a lesson to all the future English kings and even to most of the European autocrats. No king in English history thereafter ever trampled the rights of English people under his feet as mercilessly as did Charles I.

Moreover, it was Cromwell who *restored order* out of chaos. After their success in the Civil War both the army and the Parliament had lost moderation. Each was striving to increase its power. It was Cromwell, who, at that juncture, bearing in mind the interest of the nation as a whole, acted with courage. If there had been no Cromwell, another Civil War between the army and Parliament was certain ; and God knows how much then the people had to suffer. Under his strict enforcement of law and order trade and industry brought domestic prosperity.

It also goes to the credit of Cromwell that he first *united the British Isles*—England, Scotland and Ireland into one nation which so far seemed impracticable.

Cromwell's different experiments with the Constitution proved very useful to the British people. His experiments made it clear that England thereafter would not have a republican form of government nor would it ever accept a military rule of a Dictator.

Equally important is his contribution to the old Empire. It was he who enhanced the prestige of the Englishmen abroad. By his Navigation Act and by patronising the East India Company he took practical steps towards the building up of the Empire. His conduct of foreign affairs was satisfactory to English patriotism and profitable to English purses.

But he is, however, blamed for a few things. *Firstly*, tolerant to every religion he did not devise any formula which could have settled the religious problem once for all. *Secondly*, his persecution of the Irish Catholics is a great blot on his character. Nobody can acquit him from the share of responsibility for the future Irish troubles. *Thirdly*, the Puritan rule of his Commonwealth was not a happy time for Englishmen. Theatres were closed. Many ordinary amusements of the people were forbidden. The ordinary services of the church were no longer held; many of the clergy were turned out, and their places filled by Puritan ministers. All these rules made people hate Puritan government and hope for the return of the king.

Critical Estimate of Foreign Policy of Cromwell

The foreign Policy of Cromwell is open to criticism in many respects. *Firstly*, Cromwell showed *lack of statesmanship*, for he failed to realise that Holland, not Spain, was the natural enemy of England. For, Spain was then a declining power and Holland was then enjoying great maritime ascendancy and commercial supremacy. He ought to have struck a great blow at the prosperity of the Dutch in the commercial sphere.

Secondly, the war with Spain had ruined the cause of the merchants of London, for trade with the Spanish Colonies in America had ceased.

Thirdly, Cromwell has been accused of indirectly contributing to the preponderance of France in Europe by his war against Spain. By allying himself with France as against Spain and by humbling the naval power of Spain, he enabled France not only to achieve her final victory over Spain in the Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659, but also to become a menace to European peace. Critics have blamed the Protector for throwing the weight of English military and naval power into the scales against Spain. It is urged that he should have seen the impending predominance of France and endeavoured to check it. But at the one moment when England was strong, her strength was employed on the wrong side.

But at that time there was much to be said in favour of an alliance with France. *Firstly*, France was traditionally Protestant in its foreign policy and therefore Cromwell joined hands with her against Spain. *Secondly*, France could endanger the cause of the Commonwealth by rendering assistance to the cause of the Stuarts. *Thirdly*, the dangerous ambitions of Louis XIV were not yet exhibited and perhaps had Cromwell lived for another decade, he might have stood out as the champion of Protestant Liberties in Europe against the aggressive intolerance of France. *Fourthly*, the dangerous growth of the French power was, so far as England was concerned, due to the subservience of the two later Stuart kings, Charles II and James II who were mere tools in the hands of Louis XIV.

Notwithstanding this criticism, it must be admitted, the *foreign policy of Cromwell was successful* in that he saved England from foreign interference in domestic affairs and thereby ruined the hope of the Stuarts to regain the English throne. Secondly, he jealously guarded the Commercial interests of England and by the conclusion of Commercial alliances with

many countries he extended English commerce and thereby promoted the material welfare of his country.

But he failed to give shape to his great dream of serving the cause of Protestantism through a Protestant League in Europe. Hence it has been very well said that 'looked at from one point of view, he seemed as practical as a Commercial traveller, from another a Puritan Don Quixote'.

CHARLES II

THE RESTORATION

CHARLES II—1660-1685 (25 YEARS)

Born 1630 : married, 1652, Katherine of Portugal.

Chief Characters of the Reign.

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon ; the Duke of Buckingham ; Clifford ; Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury ; Arlington ; Lauderdale ; Sir Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby ; Duke of Monmouth ; James, Duke of York ; Titus Oates ; William, Lord Russell ; Algernon Sydney.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns.

France

Holland

Louis XIV
1648—1715

William of Orange, Stadtholder,
1672—1702.

I. RESTORATION OF STUART DYNASTY

Analysis :

Declaration of Breda : Its four promises.

Conditions accepted by Convention Parliament.
Work of the Convention Parliament. Religious liberty assured by the next Cavalier Parliament.

Character of Restoration.

Restoration of Monarchy : Not the absolutist but limited monarchy.

Restoration of Parliament : Old powers of Parliament and House of Lords revived.

Restoration of Property.

Restoration of Church : Anglicanism restored.

Restoration of Rule of Law : King's revenue increased.

Restoration of non-military State.

Restoration of rule of upper classes.

Restoration in Ireland and Scotland.

.Restoration

Before Charles returned to England he issued the *Declaration of Breda*. In this Charles had promised

four things—(1) a general amnesty, (2) the payment of arrears to the Ironside Army, (3) settlement by Parliament of the lands acquired during the civil war, and (4) religious liberty to the people with tender 'consciences'.

These conditions were accepted by a Parliament called the Convention Parliament in 1660. It was not a legal Parliament, as it was not summoned by the king's writ. It was moderate in tone and favoured the restoration of the monarchy. It invited Charles and offered him the crown. He was *restored* to the throne in 1660,

Work of Convention Parliament: It carried out most of Charles's promises in the Declaration of Breda. The first step of the Convention Parliament was to pass an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion. It promised general amnesty to all except the regicides. It decreed the punishment of the judges who had sentenced Charles I to death.

Parliament next abolished the practice of holding land on military tenure, which involved the payment of feudal dues. The royal revenue was fixed at a definite sum; and the king was granted a permanent excise tax.

It paid off the arrears of pay to the soldiers and disbanded the army. The command of the militia and the fortresses was restored to the king. Only two regiments were retained and they formed the nucleus of the modern standing army.

It declared that the reforms of the Long Parliament before 1641 were in effect and abolished the old feudal rights of wardship, liveries and knights' service. The king could still veto legislation, command the army and have executive powers. But Parliament controlled the purse. In effect, the struggle for final authority between the two was unsettled.

It remained for the succeeding Cavalier Parliament to make a religious settlement.

Character of Restoration

Restoration was not the restoration of Monarchy alone. It was the restoration also of Parliament, Anglican Church, property, rule of Law and rule of upper classes in England. But one thing was clear ; it was not going back to old order. It represented a spirit of compromise.

Restoration of Monarchy : With Charles II's coming to England monarchy was restored. But that does not mean that civil war had not left any mark on British History. Work done by the Long Parliament was not undone.

Restoration was a compromise in practice, though not in law and outer form. It was compromise between the absolute government which James I and Charles I wanted to establish and the Parliamentary control aimed at in Grand Remonstrance. But this compromise was a peculiar compromise. The form and theory differed. In theory the king was the sovereign. He could still nominate his successor, choose his own ministers and conduct foreign affairs, but the days of absolutism were gone.

In reality it was more the restoration of Parliament than of the king. Henceforth king could no longer rule for a long time without the consent of Parliament. Then compromise later on became the sheet anchor on which the British constitution was passed. This compromise saved the British constitution from a reaction in favour of full despotism or republicanism.

The king's powers were limited in the following ways :

(1) Although the doctrine of Divine Right reappeared, yet the doctrine of absolute power which had been grafted on it did not appear.

(2) The great prerogative courts such as court of Star Chamber, Court of High Commission, Council of the North, and Council of Wales were not revived. Nor was the criminal jurisdiction of the Privy Council restored.

(3) The system of arbitrary taxes was not revived. The king was to remain content with the bounty of Parliament. The control of Parliament over taxation was again re-asserted.

(4) The Old system of non-Parliamentary rule was not revived. Parliament met regularly in future. Though no practical limits were imposed upon the monarchy, yet Charles II would never act so madly as did James I and Charles I, because he had no intention to go on travels again.

Restoration of Parliament : The Restoration saw the restored Parliament. Cromwell had suspended the judicious election of Parliament, and had abolished the House of Lords. When the monarchy was restored, the ancient system of elections and the old system of inviting the peers to the House of Lords, were also restored. The representation granted to Ireland, Scotland and England which Cromwell had effected with great efforts was broken. But here again the powers of Parliament were not the same as in 1640. Parliament was now established as the senior partner of the government. The control over the purse now definitely passed into its hands. By granting an annual sum to the king it compelled him to surrender royal feudal dues. In 1665 the Appropriation Act to audit the accounts was passed. Again, the impeachment of Charles was a move to assert Parliament's resolve to keep the executive under control.

Restoration of Property : The land question to which special reference had been made in the Declaration of Breda was complicated but here too Clarendon moved with moderation. It was enacted that crown and Church lands were to be voted no matter who held them. The confiscated Cavalier lands were to be restored, but those who had sold their lands even on behalf of the king were unrewarded. This settlement was made without much regard for gratitude to the dispossessed Cavaliers or for justice to the existing holders.

Restoration of Church : The effect of Restoration on Religion was no less significant. The Puritans lost their supremacy, and it was gained by the Royalists and Anglicans. The religious question which was not easy to settle was not settled by the Convention Parliament but by the Cavalier Parliament. This Parliament which met in 1661 had an overwhelming majority of the Royalists. The members of this Parliament were more Anglicans than the king and his Lord Chancellor. Clarendon's influence in the Parliament was so great that all the statutes passed by it to settle the religious question are collectively known as Clarendon's code. Recent researches have shown that Clarendon had very little hand in these measures.

Restoration of the Rule of Law : Restoration of the reign of law ended the Cromwellian militarism and the direct administration which James I and Charles I had tried to establish. The king was not to maintain a standing army, not to levy arbitrary taxation. One of the earliest and most necessary features of the settlement was the arrangement of an adequate royal income. As most of the troubles with the king were over finance, Parliament fixed his annual grant. The king was to receive income from—(a) Crown lands, (b) Tonnage and Poundage which was granted for life, and (c) excise on beer and wines. Feudal dues were abolished.

Restoration of non-military State : The King's promise with regard to New Model Army was fulfilled. It expected few retainers. A general pardon was granted to all those who had participated in the Civil War. But to satisfy the Royalist those were tried who were responsible for Charles I's death.

Restoration of the rule of upper classes : The restoration was also a social restoration. The hereditary social order once again replaced the democratic order. The rule of upper classes was revived. The republicans and democrats who had so far governed by self-governed character of the career open to talents sought refuge in private life, while Lords, gentlemen,

Charles II became king at the age of thirty. He had lived abroad since he was twenty-one, sometimes in France, sometimes in Holland. His wanderings on the Continent had made him a much wiser man than his father had ever been. His checkered career had given him considerable experience of men and matters. His experience, added to his own deep insight and natural sagacity, made him wise. It bred in him one fixed determination—'never to set out on his travels again'.

He was lazy, easy-going and immoral in his ways of life. He was gay and witty and a man of charming manners. His court was crowded with his dissolute friends and followers. He publicly acknowledged his illegitimate children. He was so hypocritical that his real aims were usually successfully concealed. He was gracious and kind-hearted; he rarely refused a request. But such kindness was superficial. His apparent generosity increased his popularity and so helped in the fulfilment of his frequently expressed determination, 'not to go upon his travels again'. He was thoroughly selfish and unprincipled, and prepared to sacrifice religion, friends or ministers, if it was convenient to him. He squandered public money on his own pleasures.

He was shrewd. Behind the veil of frivolity and indolence he concealed a great talent for intrigue which baffled the ablest statesmen of his day. He could, with some show of right, blame his ministers and advisers for his own mistakes and misdeeds. He was content to remain in the background. He was a clever political tactician when he diverted the wrath of Parliament to ministers, during the "Popish Plot" incident.

He was in most ways utterly unlike his father. The first Charles was a man of good life; the second Charles was not. The father was devoted to the church of England; the son had no real religion, though he became a Roman Catholic upon his death-bed. At heart he was a Catholic, but was too prudent

in politics or too lukewarm in faith, to venture to declare himself as such.

Charles was the ablest of the Stuarts. He was trained in the school of adversity and had shown great coolness and courage in times of danger, he knew what he wanted and moved to his object with deep-laid plans, while he completely hoodwinked most of the people by showing that he was indifferent and addicted to dissipation. He was a keen and accurate observer of contemporary events and moulded his ways and moves accordingly. He could see that it was impossible to maintain his Declarations of Indulgence in face of national opposition.

Aims of Charles II

Charles II was shrewd. He did not professedly announce any of his aims and objects, and allow his people to know his mind. That itself was one of his aims. His aims are to be analysed from his acts and statements, serious and humorous. He lived a lazy and dissolute life and cared nothing for the statecraft which was left to his ministers. He wanted to convey this impression of his non-interest in government. But in fact, he left unimportant work of routine and detail to his ministers and the main lines of his policy were kept in his hands. His first aim in statecraft was to remain in the background but at the same pull the wires from behind. It would have one benefit at least. The ministers would be blamed for the twists and turns of his policy and he would be taken to be innocent.

His *second aim* was to be an absolute monarch as his father and grandfather had been. He cared little for the appearance of power, and was only satisfied with the substance of power. He had realised that much had happened since the beginning of the seventeenth century and that parliament had come to stay. To achieve his aim he wanted to be independent of parliament, not by abolishing it but by controlling it through corrupt means and making it a tool and thus strengthen his power, until towards the end of his reign he wanted to rule without Parliament. With

that end in view he endeavoured to increase his source of income so that he might not have to wait for parliamentary grants or to impose illegal taxes like his predecessors. His way was to make his foreign policy pay. He began to get money from the king of France. By following a pro-French policy in foreign affairs he got money from the French king and became independent of parliaments. He played France and Parliament against each other and benefited out of this game. Further, he appointed ministers and advisers who were dependent upon him and carried out his schemes. By these subtle moves Charles II tried to establish absolute power in a novel fashion. It is said that Charles II attempted to "*establish a second Stuart despotism*" in England.

Ultimately, however, this attempt of Charles II had failed, because the Parliament became assertive and did not allow him to undo what had been achieved earlier against the absolutist tendencies of the king. The king was not allowed to have his way in all matters. Charles II was also clever enough to retrace his step and gave up his policy towards absolutism.

His *third aim* was to restore Catholicism in England. With little sincere belief in religion he changed alternately towards the Church of England and the Church of Rome, according as it suited best his purpose from time to time. He had probably become a Roman Catholic before 1660, but none knew what his religion was. Until he was in his deathbed, he did exhibit his faith in Roman Catholicism. But whatever might have been his religious aim, the Anglican supremacy was definitely established and his object of securing toleration for Roman Catholics could not succeed.

3: FOREIGN POLICY OF CHARLES II

Analysis:

Aims : (a) To pursue a policy of peace with France and War with Spain.

(b) To enhance commercial enterprises and curb Holland.

Relation with Portugal: Alliance and marriage with Catherine of Braganza.

Relation with France; Subservience to the French Court: Charles II pensioned off by Louis XIV: Later, Secret Treaty of Dover.

Relation with Holland: Commercial conflicts between the two countries. Navigation Act of 1660. Peace of Breda, 1667. Wave of good feelings in favour of Holland. Dutch Wars.

Foreign policy of Charles II

England in the period of the Commonwealth had secured a position of great influence in Europe. With the return of the Stuarts she was soon to lose it.

Relation with Portugal

Charles II began his reign with a peace move. A Portuguese alliance was established and celebrated by the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza, sister of the King of Portugal. Catherine brought her husband a handsome dowry while her brother ceded Tangier, an important strategic port and Bombay to the English King. Charles, however, soon sold Bombay to the East India Company.

Relation with France

Charles II returned to England in 1660 under obligations to no foreign power. But from the first he was attracted towards France. His mother was French and his cousin Louis XIV is the central figure in European politics of the time. Moreover, Charles wanted to foster the commercial welfare of England, and he looked upon Holland, not France as the rival of England. And so he married his sister Henrietta to the French Duke of Orleans and himself entered into a matrimonial alliance with Portugal with whom Louis XIV was in alliance. Charles also sold Dunkirk to the French for a huge sum. The sale was very unpopular in England but it was a wise move, for Dunkirk was expensive to keep up, useless strategically and the king could not afford to maintain garrisons there as well as at Tangier.

Thus the leading feature of the foreign policy of Charles was his subservience to the French court.

The corrupt extravagance of his life always kept Charles in constant need of money and he turned to Louis XIV as a source of supply. Louis XIV who reigned from 1643 to 1715, became a menace to every state in Europe. He was bent upon territorial aggrandisement at the cost of his neighbours and so was glad to help Charles with money if he could by that means purchase the aid or at least the neutrality of England in his wars of aggression against the other powers of Europe. Thus the bargain was struck and Charles became Louis's pensioner and a tool in his hands. His guidance of England was very weak and unintelligent, being determined simply by aversion to the Dutch and affection for Louis XIV of France.

Relation with Holland

Ever since the Navigation Act passed by Oliver's government the commercial rivalry between the Dutch and the English had been very intense. The commercial ambitions of England and Holland especially in Africa and the East Indies led to continual disputes between the ships of the rival nations and to attack upon each other's commerce. A new Navigation Act was passed in 1660 which re-enacted the provisions of the Commonwealth Navigation Act i.e. the trade between England and her colonies was to be carried only in English ships. It increased the tension between the two rival countries and finally war was declared against Holland in 1664. The Second Dutch War followed the seizure by the English of New Amsterdam, the Dutch colony in North America, which was renamed New York in honour of the king's brother, the Duke of York. The Duke of York won a great naval battle off Lowestoft in which he inflicted severe loss upon the Dutch in 1665. Meanwhile England was crippled by two great disasters which befell London, the Plague and the Great Fire. In 1667 the government was so short of money and Charles's court was so extravagant that the sailors were left unpaid and mutinied and the English fleet was laid up at the Chatham dockyard. The Dutch took advantage of this, a Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames, destroyed 16 ships, bombarded

Chatham and held London blockaded for several weeks. It was the bitterest naval humiliation that England has never received and it reacted instantly on the political situation at home.

In 1667 the peace of Breda was concluded by which England obtained in North America, New Jersey and New Amsterdam ; but Charles had to sacrifice his great minister Clarendon who was dismissed owing to the ill success of the war and had to submit to still closer financial control by his Parliament.

This was the time of the ascendancy of France in European politics. The leading fact of the general situation was that Louis XIV was scheming to extend his territory at the expense of his neighbours. And Louis XIV who was always a clever manager was perfectly willing to oblige his brother of England, Charles II by paying him huge sums of money, if he could by this means buy England's aid or at least her neutrality in the conflicts he anticipated.

But after the conclusion of the peace of Breda in 1667, popular feeling in England grew friendly to the Dutch and hostile to France. Hence when Louis XIV began his aggressions by invading the Spanish Netherlands in the war of Devolution, Charles II adopted a policy which gave great satisfaction to the country. He joined with Holland and Sweden in the Triple Alliance to check the aggression of Louis XIV. The new attangement was immediately successful and Louis XIV accepted the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. But the new aim in the foreign policy of Charles II was soon abandoned. The Alliance was very popular in England but there is reason to suppose that Charles II planned to repudiate it as soon as possible. Charles II was personally disappointed with its results ; for Parliament had not relaxed its watchful control over his expenditure nor allowed him to grant toleration to Catholic and Protestant dissenters. The example of France still exercised its fascination. With the help of the French king he hoped to make himself the real ruler of England and to be able to declare

himself a Roman Catholic. Louis XIV on the other hand resolved to have revenge on the Dutch nation.

Accordingly in 1670 the secret Treaty of Dover was signed between France and England. By it Charles promised, in consideration of a huge sum of money to join in the attack on Holland whenever France desired it and in return France was to help him with men and money in his designs to make the monarchy independent of Parliament, to declare himself a Roman Catholic and to re-establish the Catholic religion in England. No king of England has ever entered into a contract nearly so treasonable against his people. Henceforth he pursued a foreign policy of his own and it was not identical with that of his people or of his ministers. The Treaty was a crime and a blunder too. It was "the first act in the drama which ended in the Revolution of 1688." The later troubles of the reign of Charles II are to be traced to it and it contributed to the expulsion of James II and the Stuart Dynasty from the throne of England.

The secret of the Treaty of Dover was well-kept. In order to deceive the nation and the ministers excepting two, a sham treaty was drawn up which had reference only to the proposed war with the Dutch. But the Treaty was suspected and ultimately leaked out.

In 1672 Louis invaded Holland and England entered the war on the French side. Thus the third Dutch War or the Second Dutch War of the Restoration began. Just as the war broke out, Charles in order to prepare the way for his proposed change of religion issued a Declaration of Indulgence which, overriding the Statutes of Parliament, gave Roman Catholics and Dissenters freedom of worship. The commons were furious and refused to vote him supplies until he had withdrawn the Declaration. The king was obliged to give way, and the war thus lost its interest for Charles. Charles II saw that the opposition was too strong for him and as the English people were learning to feel more and more strongly

that their real enemy was the French and not the Dutch, Charles further gave way to popular pressure and was willing to withdraw from the Dutch war. The Dutch under their young stadtholder William of Orange made an heroic resistance which excited universal admiration. In 1674 the Treaty of Westminster was concluded between England and Holland. The power of Holland was broken and gradually a large portion of her trade fell into English hands. Deprived of the help of England Louis XIV also withdrew from the struggle by the peace of Nymwegen in 1678.

From 1674 to 1688 England ceased to be of importance in foreign affairs. Only when the throne passed to William of Orange, the ruler of Holland, who had married Mary, daughter of James II, that England showed some independence of France. The whole reign of William III was to be spent in one long struggle against the power of Louis XIV. But for the greater part of the time the English kings were the pensioners of Louis XIV. Louis XIV paid Charles II large sums of money for the prorogation of Parliament. This was the time of Louis XIV's international Courts of Reunion and of his annexation of Luxemburg. If Parliament had been sitting it would have demanded interference and many powers were looking to England for a lead in the matter. But no lead came and so Strasburg, Luxemburg were annexed without more than a futile protest from Germany and a hopeless military effort by Spain.

When James II came to the throne in 1685, the French ambassador was the chief supporter of his disastrous policy. Meantime Louis XIV's powers and ambitions were extending and when the Revolution of 1688 came, his ascendancy was threatening all Europe.

4. RELIGIOUS POLICY OF CHARLES II

Analysis :

Charles II—born of Catholic mother, bred up in Catholic environments and married to a Catholic queen:

Parliament—Anglican in sentiment, and anti-Puritan.

Various Acts: Corporation Act, Act of University. Conventicle Act Five Miles Act Declaration of Indulgence Test Act. Exclusion Act.

Charles II was born of a Catholic mother, bred up in Catholic environments and married to a Catholic queen. He had an under-current of feelings for the Catholics, but the popular feeling was anti-Catholic and anti-Puritan. So the Restoration brought to the Puritans a period of severe persecution and the Catholics were worsted. The Parliament was 'Cavalier' in sentiment; it was Royalist in politics and strongly Anglican in religion. It has been aptly said that it was more zealous for episcopacy than the bishops.' In its zeal the Cavalier Parliament (1661-79) passed a series of laws against the Puritans. These laws were passed during the ministry of Clarendon and so are known as the 'Clarendon Code.'

The Corporation Act (1661) destroyed the power of the Puritans in towns. It forced all persons holding office in corporate towns (a) to renounce the League and Covenant, (b) to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England, and (c) to swear that they recognised the illegality of bearing arms against the king.

The Act of Uniformity (1662) required all clergy, both Protestants and Roman Catholics, to read the Prayer Book. If they would not do so they were turned out of their livings. So most of the Puritan clergy, who could not accept the Prayer Book, were expelled from the Church. They became known as Dissenters and Separatists, as they separated from the Anglican Church. The Separatists were again divided into Independents, Baptists and Presbyterians.

The Conventicle Act (1664) suppressed the public worship of Dissenters. The Five Miles Act (1665) forbade the Non-conformists teach in schools or come within five miles of a corporate town.

Aims

Charles II had two aims in view in his domestic policy. *Firstly*, he wanted to secure money without

the sanction of Parliament, and *secondly*, to restore Catholicism in England. But he was careful enough not to offend Parliament seriously. He had a partiality for Catholicism; and he hated Protestantism, because the protestants were not loyal subjects. He sought to advance Catholic interests by an apparent zeal for religious toleration. In 1672 he suspended all the laws which imposed penalties on religious opinion by a Declaration of Indulgence. Apparently it was a concession to Protestant Dissenters but it was intended to re-establish Catholicism in pursuance of a secret treaty. But the parliament and the people opposed him vehemently. They compelled him to withdraw his 'Declaration' and to give assent to the Test Act (1673) by which Catholics and Non-Conformists were shut out from all posts under the Government. The Parliamentary Test Act of 1678 excluded the Catholics from Parliament. Thus the Catholics were driven off from all posts of power excepting kingship. The people tried to force Charles II to exclude his brother James who was an avowed Catholic from the throne. But they failed in their attempt. The revolution was necessary to make the holder of the Crown a Protestant.

5- ABSOLUTISM OF CHARLES II. (1681-85)

Analysis :

Aim : To set up an absolutist government like his father.

Steps taken ; Indirect and Direct income. Pension of France. Increase of number of guards. Power of Whigs broken. Tory majority brought about. Failure of Rye House plot.

Wave of Royalism.

No Summoning of Parliament

Circumstances favouring Absolutism

Quite a number of causes helped Charles II to wield absolute power. *Firstly*, Charles received annually £250,000 from Louis XIV on condition that he would not summon Parliament; he had no wars to pay for; and his income from the customs was increasing. Thus he had no reason to be dependent on Parliament for finance.

Secondly, he had increased his guards who were a source of strength.

Thirdly, the power of the Whigs was broken. In the Oxford Parliament, 1681, they supported the Exclusion Bill under the leadership of Shaftesbury. Their unruly conduct after the failure of the Popish Plot had a strong reaction in favour of Charles II. The majority of the nation believed that the Whigs were ready to stir up a Civil War in favour of Monmouth. All these went a long way to produce a reaction in favour of the king who took advantage of it and began to persecute the Whigs. Colledge was charged with treason, convicted by a Tory Jury and executed. Shaftesbury was accused of high treason and fled to Holland. Similarly, Monmouth had to leave England for fear of persecution.

Fourthly, Town Charters of London and other towns which were strongholds of the Whigs were confiscated. The king wanted to see that these towns shed their Whig sympathies and ensure a Tory majority in any parliament he might summon. Soon there was a Tory majority in the town Councils.

Fifthly, the failure of the Rye House Plot, 1683, greatly aided Charles II to set up an absolute rule. After Shaftesbury's flight the Whigs were in great despair. Rumbold, an old Cromwellian and one of Shaftesbury's most violent supporters, formed a plot to murder Charles and James on their way to Newmarket races at the Rye House. The plot was discovered. Charles took advantages of it to get rid of the prominent Whig leaders like Lord Russell and Sidney who were executed. These executions were in fact judicial murders. For, the juries were packed by the Tory sheriffs of London; the evidences were very weak; and the laws against Nonconformists were rigidly enforced. The trial and judgment of the Rye House Plot had a deleterious effect upon the existence of the Whigs. When the Whigs were thus persecuted and shattered, Charles II ruled as he liked with the help of the Tories, and became an absolute monarch.

About this time there grew up a wave of opinion

in favour of king's right to absolute power. Many of the Anglican clergy preached the duty of non-resistance. In 1683 the University of Oxford declared the theory that all civil authority is originally derived from the people to be 'false seditious and impious.' It stated that there is no compact, tacit or express, between the king and subjects. The works of Sir Robert Filmer were now widely read. They asserted that 'the kingly power is ordained by the law of God, and no inferior power could limit it.'

During the years 1681-85 Charles II's absolutism manifested itself in a variety of forms. He was too shrewd to be rude or crudely absolute as his father. There is a marked difference between the personal government of Charles I during the years 1629 to 1640 and that of Charles II from 1681 to 1685. He imposed no arbitrary taxes, exercised no censorship over the press and imprisoned no men without a trial ; but he set up such a judiciary with servile judges and jurors that it was possible for him to annihilate the opposition, as in the case of execution of Russell and Sidney of the Rye House plot. When the Whigs declined in power, it became easier for Charles II to assume arbitrary ways in dealing with the Parliament. He steadily refused to call Parliament in spite of the Triennial Act, and his Tory supporters demanding Parliamentary government. He then appointed his brother James Lord High Admiral and summoned him to the Council in spite of the Test Act (1673). Earl of Rochester supported the king in his illegal policy.

Death, however, cut short the period of absolute rule of Charles II in 1685.

By 1685 Charles II was little less than an absolute king. He possessed a small standing army, and named the officers of the militia and the commanders of the fortresses. He dismissed the judges as he thought fit, and could secure the services of compliant jurymen ; the appointment of magistrates was practically in his hands ; and more than all, by remodelling the corporations he had secured the means of packing the House of Commons.

6. CONSTITUTIONAL PROGRESS IN THE REIGN OF CHARLES II

Analysis :

1. Feeling of Royalism increased, but it was of limited Kingship.
- 2- Parliament's controls and rights. Feudalism abolished. Right of appropriation of Supplies. Individual liberty established by Habeas Corpus Act Ministers responsible for government. Rise of Political parties after Exclusion Bill. Sovereignty transferred to Parliament.

During the reign of Charles II there was a spate of feelings in favour of Royalism and Restoration, but progress in the growth of constitutional government was equally remarkable.

Feudalism which was on its last legs crumbled now. A statute of 1660 abolished military tenure, feudal dues and purveyance. In commutation of the incidence of military tenure, the crown was granted a fixed and hereditary revenue to be levied by an excise on beer etc. This statute was the last important step in the abolition of the feudal land law in England.

The right of appropriating supplies was secured by Parliament in 1665 ; but it was not carried into full effect till after the Revolution. This right of auditing public accounts was secured by Parliament in 1667.

Individual liberty was firmly established by the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679. The object of this famous statute was to prevent illegal and indefinite imprisonment. It provided that a person committed to any crime except treason or felony could demand from one of the judges a writ of Habeas Corpus directing the jailor to speedily produce the body of the prisoner in court and certify the cause of his imprisonment. If bailable, he was to be discharged within two days on giving security. Jailors failing to produce their prisoners were liable to heavy fine. This Act effectively checked the worst abuses of the earlier period viz. practice of administrative imprisonment.

During the reign of Charles II the Commons successfully asserted their claim to control the policy of the ministers by punishing them for adopting measures which Parliament considered as contrary to

the interest of the nation Clarendon was impeached for high treason as he was held responsible for the fall of Dunkirk. Again, Danby the Lord Treasurer was impeached for high treason for taking part in a discreditable negotiation with Louis XIV of France under the express orders of Charles II. Danby alleged the Command of the king for what he had done, but the Commons ignored this plea, thus asserting the responsibility of ministers to Parliament. Danby then showed a royal pardon but the Commons resolved that such a pardon 'could not bar an impeachment.'

The rise of definite Parliamentary parties in this reign was another source of Parliamentary strength. It was in the year 1679 during the intense public agitation caused by the introduction of a Bill to exclude the Duke of York, brother of the king, from succession, on the ground of his professed Romanism that the name Whigs and Tories were first applied to two great political parties. To defeat the Exclusion Bill, Charles II dissolved the Parliament. Many persons sent petitions for a meeting of Parliament. The petitioners favouring the exclusion of James were known as the Whigs. Those who expressed their abhorrence at the attempt to coerce the king were known as the Tories.

By the Restoration the prerogatives of the crown were untouched, and the recent innovations were only swept away. The king still retained the supreme executive and co-ordinate legislative power. He called, prorogued and dissolved Parliament and might refuse his assent to bills. He was the 'fountain of justice', supreme magistrate and conservator of the peace, supreme military commander, 'fountain of honour,' head of the Church and representative of the state in its 'foreign relations'. In practice, however, these powers were exercised by the crown ministers; in actual fact, the Revolution transferred the sovereignty from the king to the House of Commons, which by its control of taxation and its practice of granting none but annual supplies had become the supreme power in the state.

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

JAMES II 1685—1689 (4 YEARS)

Born 1633 ; married 1661, Anne Hyde

1673. Mary of Modena

Chief Characters of the Reign

Rochester; Halifax, Earl of Godolphin; Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland; Monmouth; Jeffreys; the Marquess of Argyll; Hough; Compton; Sancerroft; Petre; Tyreconnel; Danby; Henry Sydney, Edward Russell.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns

France

Louis XIV

1643-1715

Spain

Charles II

1665-1700

Holland

Stadtholder William of Orange

1672—1702

I. EVENTS AND POLICIES OF JAMES II

Analysis :

Character of James II.

Personal Character better than Charles II, not so able.

A firm believer in Divine Right.

A devout Roman Catholic.

Popular at first, but unpopular later.

Policy of James II :

- (1) To rule as an absolute King as far as possible.
- (2) To restore Roman Catholicism in England.
- (3) To ally with Louis XIV.

Home Affairs .

Rebellions of Argyll and Monmouth checked and leaders executed

Maintained Standing army.

Religious Affairs :

Claimed Dispensing and suspending powers. View of the judges that King's claim was legal.

Quarrel with Universities owing to King's attempt to establish Roman Catholic influence there.

Established Ecclesiastical Commission Court. Illegal, owing to Act of 1641 which abolished High Commission Court.

Trial of Seven Bishops who were acquitted. Public Rejoicing. Public dismay at the birth of King's son.

William of Orange invited. William landed at Torbay:

Foreign Affairs .

James II sided by Louis XIV. Louis XIV a menace to European Balance of Power. League of Augsburg formed. If James had supported League, William would not have come to England no invitation.

Accession and Character of James II

James II succeeded to the throne of his brother in 1685. He was a very different man from his brother. He was a devout Catholic and as such he was ready to make almost any sacrifice to aid his Church. He had no personal vices of his brother, nevertheless he entirely lacked Charles's coolness and humour and ability of Charles to gauge public opinion. He was also imbued with the same ideas of Divine Right as his father Charles I and he held to them as stubbornly as ever that monarch had done. It has been said that James never forgot an enemy and seldom remembered a friend. Stubborn, revengeful and entirely tactless, he was destined to lose in the short space of three years the throne which his brother had preserved and strengthened by a careful exercise of political craft.

When James ascended the throne in 1685, there was practically no opposition, the country had never been more quiet. People felt that he had been treated harshly over the Exclusion Bill and he had the support of all moderate people. Parliament enthusiastically loyal voted him a large income. The rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth and the simultaneous insurrection in Scotland were easily crushed and James was securely seated on the throne.

Thus when James II began his reign in 1685, the omens were favourable to a great development of royal power. The whigs had been discredited in the reign of Charles II. Parliament was subserviently loyal. Had James II been prudent and *kept his politics*

separated from his religion, the Revolution of 1688 might have been a successful royalist *Coup d'etat* which would have established in England a government somewhat after the French model. But prudence was not among his virtues; he was willing to run risks and make sacrifices for his religion and the king blundered along towards his fall. For the first nine months of his reign, James himself behaved with some moderation. But the ease with which Monmouth's rebellion and the Scottish revolt were quelled, however, encouraged him to a more extreme policy. He did not disband his standing army which was a very unpopular institution, on the contrary he increased the number of his army to 30 thousand men. James was an avowed Roman Catholic which raised an impassable barrier between him and his subjects. His aim was to introduce a measure of toleration for the Roman Catholics. But Parliament was suspicious of the king's intentions and refused to vote full supplies until he had given some assurance in matters of religion. The Protestantism of the Parliament was stronger than its royalism and it refused to cooperate in king's policy. But James with troops of his own and the hope of money from France, could now afford, so he thought, to be independent. The Parliament was dismissed in November 1685 and it never met again during his reign.

Aims

It was James's intention to (1) restore the Roman Catholic Church in England and (2) to make the English monarchy a despotism like that of France.

But the *methods* by which he pursued these designs made them for ever impossible in England and also brought about his ruin. James failed to see that the French system of government which he so much admired was detested in England. He himself expressed approval when Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes which had guaranteed liberty of conscience to the French protestants. But England looked on in alarm, and welcomed the Huguenot refugees.

In his short reign of four years James II succeeded in stirring up opposition on all sides. (1) The Tories, the party most favourable to the royal prerogative upon whom he might have relied, were shocked by his attempts to create a standing army commanded by Catholics; for such an army might prove as disastrous to their liberties as Cromwell's New Model Army. The Whigs too were driven to desperation by James's religious policy and despotic government.

His Home Policy

(2) James, possessed with the idea that he had been made king expressly to further the Roman Catholic cause, proceeded to override the laws, especially the Test Act which debarred the Roman Catholics from holding official positions. He held that the crown possessed a '*dispensing power*' by right of which the king could dispense with the law in particular cases. By virtue of this power he proceeded to appoint Catholics to important positions in Church and State. He changed his ministers, who were moderate men, giving way to Roman Catholics. Catholics were introduced into the Privy Council.

(3) Then the king turned to the universities. He showed his intention of converting the University of Oxford by appointing a Roman Catholic to the Deanery of Christ Church and by substituting Roman Catholic for Protestant fellows at Magdalen College and therefore incurred the hostility of that University which had always been the most loyal supporter of the House of Stuart.

(4) He also re-established the court of High Commission.

(5) James like his brother claimed the right to "*suspend*" the laws and statutes which Parliament had enacted against Roman Catholics and Dissenters. In 1687 he issued a *Declaration of Indulgence* suspending the penal laws against both the Roman Catholics and the Dissenters. James had hoped to enlist the support of the Dissenters for his policy. But the Dissenters were not to be deceived as to the real intentions of a king who had approved of the

revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Consequently, James received much less support from them than he had expected.

(6) In 1688 the crisis came. In spite of protests he issued a *Second Declaration of Indulgence* and ordered it to be read in all Anglican Churches. Most of the clergy refused to conform to this tyrannical order and Seven bishops led by Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, petitioned to be excused from enforcing the order. James promptly sent them to the Tower and ordered them to be tried for libelling the king. Immense excitement gathered around the trial, but no jury would convict the Seven Bishops and they were acquitted amidst scenes of tremendous enthusiasm and rejoicing in London.

The acquittal of the Seven Bishops and the unexpected birth of a son to James by his second wife—these two events decided James's fate. The acquittal of the Seven Bishops was a great blow to his prestige, but the birth of the prince was the turning point. For it was now clear that James's policy would not die with him; for the child would be brought up in his father's religion and would be likely to pursue his father's political designs and absolutist doctrines and that England would thus continue to be ruled by papist despots and the Roman Catholic dynasty would be perpetuated in England.

People had so long tolerated the arbitrary government of James II, because the next heir to the throne was James's Protestant daughter Mary who was the wife of William of Orange, the ruler of Holland. But now James had a successor who would be educated as a Roman Catholic. Moreover, it was widely believed that the prince was not really the son of James and his wife. Any way the prospect of England being ruled by papist despots in the future alarmed the people. Though James II might possibly be tolerated for the rest of his life, the prospect of James III was too much.

England was filled with excitement from end to end. Seizing the opportunity some of the chief Whig and Tory leaders invited William of Orange, who was already known as the great champion of Protestantism in Europe and the bitter enemy of the French power, to come over and save Protestantism and Parliamentary liberties in England.

Foreign Relations

At this moment Louis XIV offered James his assistance. James however at this critical juncture dared not risk making an alliance with France and therefore refused it. Louis XIV might have prevented William III from sailing by an attack on Holland; instead he moved his troops to wage a campaign in Germany. So William sailed and in Nov. 1688 landed in England and immediately the people of all classes gathered around him. James soon found himself without a supporter and seeing that all was lost he sent his wife and son to France. Shortly after James partly through failure of nerve and partly through a misreading of the situation and a belief that he could secure revenge and victory from France abandoned the struggle and fled to France. On his way James was captured and brought back to London but he was allowed to escape. James never landed in England. Never in history perhaps had there been so swift and so bloodless a revolution.

The Parliament which met to deliberate on these events declared the throne vacant and offered it to William and Mary as joint sovereigns; because William III refused to reign as a mere king consort. James's reign was thus over and so at last was the long struggle between King and Parliament.

2. THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, 1688

Analysis :

Nature of Revolution : Glorious, Bloodless, Conservative, Liberal.

Causes of Glorious Revolution ;

1. Character and James's Romanising Policy responsible.
 - (a) His faith in Divine Right Theory, Roman Catholicism and obstinacy to rule in defiance of constitution and public opinion.

- (b) Attempt to repeal Test Law.
- (c) Suspending and Dispensing Powers.
- (d) Revival of Pterogative Courts.
- (e) Appointment of Catholics in Universities.
- (f) Pro-Catholic policies in Ireland and Scotland.
- (g) Declaration of Indulgences.

- 2. His attack on Seven Bishops.
- 3. Maintenance of a Standing Army.
- 4. Birth of a son to King and fear of Popish succession.
- 5. Flight of James II and invitation to William III.

Results.

At home

- 1. End of struggle between King and Parliament for supremacy.
- 2. Will of King supplanted by will of nation.
- 3. Parliament grew supreme in power and importance.
- 4. Triumph of Legislature over Executive.
- 5. A landmark in religious history. Rule of Anglican Church.

Abroad

- 1. Change in Foreign Policy. Beginning of struggle with France.
- 2. Relationship with Scotland. Union with Scotland resulted
- 3. Relation with Ireland which supported James II.

Causes

In the year 1688, England experienced an unprecedented change in her constitution, known as the Revolution of 1688. Under pressure of circumstances, James II, the ruling monarch of England, had to fly from England and in his place his daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange were installed on the British throne. This change was primarily the outcome of the acts of omission and commission of James II, and the peculiar conduct of James II. It will not be fair to trace the causes of the Revolution to the events in the reign of Charles II. For, at the time of Charles II's death the monarchy was in a strong position and James II had an easy unquestioned accession.

Attempt to restore Catholicism and arbitrary rule : James II was a Roman Catholic. When he ascended the throne he had the churchmen's trust in him. He promised to uphold all the rights of the English

church. But soon after he changed his policy. He tried to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion and to give Catholics privileges which were contrary to law. His first act was to repeal the Test Law with the object of giving the Catholics equal rights with the Protestants. But Parliament would not let the monarchy subvert the constitution. James failed in his object; his Parliament grew suspicious and indignant over the attempt of James II to repeal Test Act. At this James angrily dismissed Parliament and his Tory ministers, and defied the law and gave high offices to Catholics. Vacancies in the army and the Privy Council were filled by the king from the people professing the Roman faith.

Dispensing and Suspending Powers: After his failure to repeal the Test Act, James II claimed that though he could not repeal a law, he had the *suspending and dispensing powers*. By his dispensing power, a particular law was declared inapplicable for certain people or for certain organisations. By his suspending power, he could suspend the operation of any law he liked. The judges decided that he had both these powers, and he used them freely. These two practices of James caused widespread resentment among the people, because by so doing he was trying to restore the absolutism of the worst type. The English nation by temperament could not tolerate this.

Revival of the Prerogative Courts: In his zest for upholding the cause of Roman Catholicism, James revived the Prerogative Court of High Commission, though it was given a different name, namely the 'Court of Ecclesiastical Commission'. The king wanted to enforce his authority as the supreme governor of the church through this Court. This aroused a good deal of public criticism, because the right of justice by means of Prerogative Courts was denounced by the Parliament in 1641 and their abolition was confirmed by the Restoration of the monarchy in 1661. The revival of the Prerogative Court led to a breach between the King and Parliament.

Appointment of Catholics in the Universities: His fanaticism for Roman Catholicism led him to

interfere with the activities of Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. He used force to appoint the men of Roman faith in the Universities. He expelled all the twenty-five fellows of the Magdalen College because they refused to appoint a Catholic. In Cambridge, too, he dismissed the Vice-Chancellor because he refused to confer a degree on a Catholic monk. He also forced the Christ Church, Oxford, to appoint a staunch Catholic as its Dean. Thus, James alienated the sympathies of the most powerful class, the intelligentsia.

His policy towards Ireland and Scotland: His Catholic faith also tainted his policy towards Ireland and Scotland. James' appointment of a Romanist as the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland turned all the Irish Protestants against Stuart monarchy. Similarly, in Scotland the policy of persecution of the presbyterians turned most of Scotland against James II.

Declarations of Indulgence: There were not enough Roman Catholics to make a strong party. So James tried to unite Protestant Dissenters with them on the ground that both had suffered from the rule of the Church. He declared in 1688 a Declaration of Indulgence. By it he granted complete freedom of worship to every religion. Besides it laid down that in future no religious tests would be required for admission to any government office. This Declaration stirred the people deeply.

But James would not care for the public opinion. He, instead, began to appoint Catholic and other Dissenters to the Town Council. People turned against the Stuart monarchy. At that time when the temper of the people was already inflamed James issued the Second Declaration of Indulgence in 1688 containing worse terms than even the first. He also ordered that the Second Declaration should be read in every English Church on two consecutive Sundays. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Sancroft and six other bishops refused to read the Declaration. They, on the other hand, sent a petition to the King requesting him to withdraw the Declaration. In the petition they

even questioned the royal right of dispensing with the Laws.

Trial of Seven Bishops : James did not pay any heed to the petition. James sought to punish them on a charge of publishing a false and seditious libel. Judges tried those Bishops and declared them "Not Guilty". When the Seven Bishops were acquitted, all London rejoiced. Even the Dissenters joined in the merriment at the defeat of the monarchy. The importance of the trial lies in the fact that it established the illegality of the king's dispensing power and the lawful right of the subjects to petition.

Standing Army : The temper of the public became frayed at every step of illegality perpetrated by James II. They were all the more exasperated when the king maintained a standing army commanded by Catholics. Taking advantage of the early rising in his reign, James stationed a large Catholic army near the city of London and increased the number of the Catholic army from 6000 to 30,000. This alarmed the people because it was unprecedented. They apprehended that such an army might prove as disastrous to their liberties as Cromwell's "New Model Army".

Ruthless dealings with enemies : The people of England were shocked by his ruthlessness. The Dukes of Monmouth and Argyll and their followers who had revolted against James were treated with "ruthless brutality". The Bloody Assizes, whose judge was the notorious Jeffreys, put three hundred men to death and exiled several thousands to the West Indies. This reign of terror turned most of the people against the Stuart monarchy.

Birth of a Son : When James II was having a wanton arbitrary rule, a son was born to the king. Men now foresaw a long line of Popish kings. This was more than the English could endure. Thereupon the nation took a revolutionary step. A few Whig and Tory statesmen met together and they decided to invite William of Holland, the husband of Mary, the Protestant daughter of James II, to come over and

save the liberties of England and the Protestant religion.

Invitation extended to William and Mary : Seven leading men of England including the Tory leader Danby and the Whig leader Henry Sidney wrote down an invitation and sent it to Holland through Admiral Herbert, disguised as a command sailor.

Even all these events would not have brought about the Revolution of 1688, had William of Orange been not in urgent need of help against the French King. William was waging a war against the most powerful monarch of his time, Louis XIV. His whole kingdom (Holland) was in danger and he was badly in need of help. He regarded the invitation of the English as something like godsent. Had he been not in such a difficult position he would have hardly accepted the invitation or at least would have thought twice before acting as the "Champion of English Liberties".

Fall of James II : In November 1688, William left Holland and landed at Torbay with about 15,000 soldiers. James II decided to march against him and with 30,000 soldiers advanced to face the enemy. When he reached Salisbury, he learnt that some of his trusted followers had deserted him and others were thinking of leaving him. Lord Churchill and even the King's own daughter princess Anne had joined the enemy. At last James lost his nerve and fled from the capital.

Results

Results of the Glorious Revolution : The Glorious Revolution was an event of far-reaching effects.

At home, it marked the close of the long-drawn-out struggle for supremacy between Parliament and the Stuart Kings. The great question of sovereignty dominated affairs in the Stuart period and it was settled at last. Parliament deposed James II and appointed William and Mary as king and queen of England. It also laid down the conditions on which the new king should accept the crown. Thus the chief result of the Revolution was the destruction of

the Stuart theory of Divine Right of Kingship and the change of the order of succession by hereditary right. Parliament asserted that a king and a queen were appointed by it and not by God. The position of the king became like that of a highly placed official who could be removed in case of failure of duties. The supremacy of Parliament was complete.

It gave an opportunity for re-asserting the principles of the English constitution, which it had been the aim of the Stuart kings to set aside. It began the reign of Parliament. Upto the Revolution the guiding force in directing the policy of the nation had been the will of the king. Since the Revolution the guiding force had been the will of Parliament.

At the beginning of the Stuart period Parliament was unimportant and possessed only limited powers, but it became the supreme power in 1689. It denied the king power to suspend laws or to dispense subjects from obeying the laws, to levy money or to maintain an army without consent of Parliament ; it asserted that neither the free election nor the free speech and proceedings of members of Parliament should be interfered with , it affirmed the right of subjects to petition the sovereign and demanded impartial juries and frequent Parliaments.

The Revolution marked the final triumph of the legislature over the executive and the commons became the most important part of Parliament. The government on party lines became a feature of English constitution. Party government greatly modified the ferocity of political life, and Impeachment and execution of politicians were discontinued. Both Whigs and Tories who participated in the Revolution had reaped rewards. The Tories were pleased with the army laws, and the Whigs were saddled to power and got religious toleration of Dissenters.

The Revolution is a landmark in the religious history of England. Until 1689 it was assumed that all Englishmen should be of the same religion and penalties were imposed on those who would not conform to it. There was a change in the attitude.

Religious toleration was inculcated. The Revolution recognised the right of men to worship in their own form without persecution. The Bill of Rights, however, decreed that the sovereign of England must henceforth belong to the Anglican Church.

Abroad, the Revolution was a signal for the beginning of a struggle with France for supremacy. Under Charles II and James II England had become a tool in the hands of Louis XIV. But William was an avowed enemy of the French king who threatened the Balance of Power in Europe. William became the leading member of the Grand Alliance. England, under Whiggish policies, interfered in the wars of the League of Augsburg and of the Spanish Succession, and fought against France and even continued its anti-French policies till 1815, till it became a first class European power.

The Revolution had its effects upon the relationship between England and two other kingdoms of Great Britain, Scotland and Ireland. Scotland followed England's lead in the Revolution and soon came to be united on fair terms within twenty years. But Ireland supported James, and was defeated. She was kept in subordination for over a century.

Puritan Revolution and Glorious-Revolution— A Contrast

The Puritan Revolution of 1641 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had like aims. Both wanted to substitute Parliamentary rule for regal absolutism. During the Puritan Revolution, however, the aims and ideals were complicated by a Church dispute. The people and the parliament could not see eye to eye on the question of religion. This had resulted in dividing the nation into two hostile camps. It had thus indirectly weakened the revolution itself, and as a result the Puritan Revolution failed,

On the other hand, the Revolution of 1688 was a purely political one. The parliament and the people were at one in holding the view that the king should be constitutional in his ways of government and act

according to the wishes of Parliament. Thus the Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and Dissenters—all made common cause against James II. They did not demand any very drastic change, but sought to instal on sound footing the old constitutional principles and limit the arbitrary powers and actions of the king. Because the nation was not divided, this Revolution was crowned with success. The leaders showed wisdom by not mixing religion with politics.

Nature of the Revolution

Glorious and Bloodless : The Revolution of 1688 is generally described as 'glorious'. Burke called the events of 1689 "a happy and glorious Revolution." It was certainly good fortune of England that such a great transition from Despotism to Constitutional monarchy was made without bloodshed, without Civil Wars, without massacre ; without guillotine and even without the help of hangmen. To France, such a transition cast a reign of terror, bloody wars and more than ten years of chaos and disorder. Thus compared to the French Revolution of 1789, the English Revolution is certainly glorious and bloodless. It was the least violent and most beneficent of all revolutions. Except for the loss of ten lives in a skirmish between the Dutch and Irish in Reading market place, it was 'bloodless'.

Another reason why the Revolution is termed glorious is that it was a settlement "by consent and compromise". Both Trevelyan and Muir lay emphasis on this point. The Whigs and the Tories, two major parties of England, preferred to sink their mutual differences in order to save themselves from the dangers of absolute monarchy and hegemony of Roman Catholicism. Thus the Revolution Settlement was the work of the whole nation and not of one party. Unlike the Magna Carta, it was not a feudal document and unlike the Petition of Rights, it was not the work of the Presbyterians only. On the other hand, the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement were the measures of the whole nation and not of one party.

Thirdly, the revolution was of the nature of a defensive revolution where no drastic changes are introduced, but only ancient Constitutional principles are re-affirmed and ratified.

'Not glorious': There are, however, critics who hold that the Revolution was 'not glorious'. There was a large element of chance and luck as in the flight of James. It came as a surprise to many of the people. It was inglorious in the sense that foreign aid had to be sought to drive a despot from the throne of England. For effecting a revolution no sacrifices were made by the nation, and as such the element of glory is non-existent in it.

Too conservative: The critics of Revolution say that the term 'Revolution' is somewhat misleading. The movement was largely defensive and conservative. According to Marriott it was essentially conservative; It conserved most things of the past and was not a departure from the old order. It only made express what was implicit in the constitution. There was comparatively little change in the laws. It was a *coup d'état*, engineered by upper classes. Judged from the modern standards, it was certainly a rebellion of rich Parliamentarians—the Plutocrats, to hold a powerful place in the British constitution. It certainly led to the rule of a few rich Tory and Whig families. In fact it did very little to associate the masses with the government. It did not reform the electoral system which was corrupt; and it also did not lower the franchise which was very high,

But if we look at the Revolution with a sympathetic mind and keep in view the spirit of the age and the circumstances in which the authors of the Revolution were placed, we are bound to differ. The Whigs and the Tories, who took the initiative of giving blows to the hereditary monarchy, absolutism and the Popery, acted all of a sudden. They were not conscious that the reform of the electoral system and lowering of the franchise were urgently needed. As there was no regular movement of the lower classes to gain sovereign powers, the authors of the Revolu-

tion therefore could not act generously and grant powers to the 'Dumb Masses'. Besides the Whigs and the Tories had drawn up the Revolution settlement in a spirit of compromise and they could not introduce an unprecedented and extreme type of revolutionary change of entrusting the political power to the poor people. Lastly, the lower classes in England were ignorant and illiterate and if the authors of the Revolution had given a due share to those uneducated people, they would have done more harm than good.

Thus, in short, we conclude that though the Revolution of 1688 did not bring democracy in the true sense, it gave liberty and efficiency to the English nation; and since 1688, the supremacy of the Common Law and the Sovereignty of Parliament have not been challenged.

Liberal: While one view had described the Revolution as conservative, Trevelyan, on the other hand has emphasised the 'Liberal' nature of the Revolution. He lays stress on the liberal tendencies released by the Revolution and how it ultimately led to the liberty of the individual and the sovereignty of the people.

Macaulay has called it 'defensive' and 'Parliamentary'. It defended the English nation from the tyranny of monarchical despotism and safeguarded its rights and privileges. It was also not a 'Whig' or 'Tory' revolution, but the work of the whole nation or a 'Parliamentary' revolution.

Again, according to Marriott, it was not 'in the strict sense, a democratic movement, but rather aristocratic' because the nation was led throughout the critical days, 'by the best and the wisest among them'. Trevelyan, however, has best summed up the Revolution by saying that it came not to overthrow the law, but to confirm it against a law-breaking King. It was at once liberal and conservative. Its key note was personal freedom under the law, both in religion and in politics. Thus, the most conservative of all revolutions in history was also the most liberal.

WILLIAM III AND MARY

PROTESTANT SETTLEMENT

WILLIAM III AND MARY, 1689—1702 (13 YEARS)

William, b. 1650 ; married 1677. Mary.

Mary, born 1662 ; died 1694.

Chief Characters of the Reign

George Savile Marquess of Halifax ; Lord Danby, Duke of Leeds ; the Earl of Shaftesbury ; the Earl of Nottingham ; Lord Godolphin ; Duke of Marlborough ; Somers ; Herbert, Lord Torrington ; Edward Russell . Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax , the Earl of Tyrconnel , General Talmash ; Bentinck, Earl of Portland ; Thomas, Earl of Wharton ; Viscount Dundee.

Contemporary Sovereigns

France
Louis XIV
1643—1715

Spain
Charles II, 1665—1700
Philip of France and Charles of Austria (rivals).

1. WILLIAM'S ACCESSION AND CHARACTER

Analysis :

William's accession : Its importance How effected.
Character of William : Not popular. Reserved, Taciturn.
Determined. Courageous. Patient. Organising ability.
Achievements : Saved England from absolute Monarchy,
A great general. Foreign policy his forte.

William's Accession

James fell from power because he openly espoused Catholicism. He was disliked for his dispensations and indulgences and arbitrary rule. The people were greatly alarmed at the birth of his son as they feared continuance of Catholic rule.

After the flight of James II the Convention that met in 1689 elected William King of England. Hence William's title to the throne was purely Parliamentary.

But before the convention arrived at this decision, there were divisions of opinion as to who would succeed James II. There was a view (of extreme Tories) to restore James, provided the Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution of England were adequately protected. This was discredited owing to profound distrust in James's policy. Archbishop Sancroft opined that William should act as Regent of James as the Englishmen were bound by their oath of allegiance. Danby and others thought that James's son was illegitimate and that by James's flight the crown had devolved on Mary. The convention however passed a resolution 'that King James, having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution of this kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and People, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of Kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant'. The Lords accepted the resolution and decided to offer the crown jointly to William and Mary, who was the Protestant daughter of James II.

Importance of Accession

The accession of William is an important landmark in the history of England. By this accession, it was possible to release the liberal principles of the Glorious Revolution into working order. The domestic and foreign policies of England were given a new turn. With it began the modern history of England. Ever since that date Parliament had been supreme and the Protestant succession to the throne of England became the only condition of accession.

Character of William

William was not a popular sovereign. He was beloved by his intimate friends, but his manners were reserved in general society. He was at times cold and taciturn; but in the field of battle he exhibited the energy of his spirit. He had no geniality which Charles II had. During an unhappy childhood he had learned how to hide his feelings. But he triumphed over opposition through his determination,

courage and patience. In religion he cared little for outward forms, and was in favour of toleration; in theology his views were Calvinistic. In foreign policy he was chiefly animated by hostility to Louis XIV, whom he regarded as dangerous to the interests of England and Holland and threatening to the balance of power. At home he wished to alter the strife of parties and unite the whole nation in support of his foreign policy,

His Achievements

William was a great king but not a popular one. In attempting to rule with a free Parliament, he had a difficult game to play. He had the glory of having brought England safely through a great crisis, and of working successfully a parliamentary government in the modern sense of the term. In fact, he saved England from absolute monarchy.

Not only that, he was, according to Hallam, "the greatest man of the age" and his chief title to fame rested on his success as champion of the liberty of Europe against Louis XIV. He saved Western Europe and not merely Holland and England from the domination of France. In this struggle he showed keen political insight.

He had great organising ability. His organisation of the Grand Alliance was a testimony to that. Though he could not, like Marlborough, plan a great Campaign, he was most skilful in averting the consequence of defeat. He was a great General. His dogged perseverance inspired his soldiers and on adoption of his foreign policy Marlborough and Nelson had easy victories.

His chief glory lay in his foreign policy. He made England one of the leading countries in Europe. He saved her from danger from France. He strengthened the cause of Protestantism and supported religious toleration of England and Scotland. During his reign the finances of the country were re-organised, liberty of the Press secured and Cabinet government introduced. England's maritime greatness and colonial possessions reached a high level during his reign.

2. THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT IN ENGLAND

Analysis

Characteristics of Revolution Settlement :

Moderate in Character
 Compromise of views of Tories and Whigs.
 Settlement by consent
 Change in relation between King and Parliament.
 External weakness healed
 Future greatness made possible.

The Revolution Settlement in the matter of

Kingship : Crown to be a gift of Parliament, Divine Right abandoned.

Parliament : Bill of Rights ensured Supremacy of Parliament and liberty of subject.

King-Parliament Relation : Triennial Act (1694). Parliament to meet once in 3 years.

Standing Army : Mutiny Act. No standing army without consent of Parliament. Annual summoning of Parliament.

Revenue : Annual grants. Appropriation of account.

Religion : Toleration Act. Limited toleration.

Political parties : Tension relieved by William between Whigs and Tories. Act of Indemnity Act of Grace.

Freedom of press : Censorship of press abolished

Treason : Trial for treason introduced

Succession and other problems : Act of Settlement, 1701. Introduction of Protestant Succession. Independence of Judges.

Government : Gradual growth of Cabinet System.

When James II had fled, William of Orange was invited to be king of England. Till William became king, England was without a king for sometime and had no form of government at all. Then William came and was asked by the Convention to carry on the government. The Convention then proceeded to effect a settlement of the country and introduce constitutional government.

Characteristics of Revolution Settlement

The Settlement of the country or the state of affairs brought in after the Glorious Revolution went by the name of Revolution Settlement. It was not

revolutionary, but born of a compromise between the views of the Tories and the Whigs. The House of Lords had a Tory majority who believed in Divine Right, while the House of Commons had a Whig majority who believed that parliament could appoint a king. So when James II had fled, there was grave national danger ; there was no king in the country, France was up in arms against England, Scotland was divided and Ireland lost. The Whigs and Tories buried their differences and made a *compromise* in the Convention parliament over the question of succession. The crown was bestowed by Parliament on Mary and William ; but at the same time it did not deprive the monarch of his executive authority or of his legitimate prerogative power. It was thus a compromise. The recognition of Mary was a concession to Tory views of Divine Right, and offer of Crown to William satisfied the Whigs. This very attitude was also reflected in religious toleration, in ensuring the rights of the subjects vis-a-vis the authority of the crown in the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement. Hence it was *moderate in character*.

Moreover, it was a *settlement by consent*. Religious and political differences that had so long divided men and parties were compromised and settled by sitting across the table. The Revolution settlement witnessed a great *change in the relationship between the Crown and Parliament*. The long drawn-out-rivalry between the two gave place to co-operation with Parliament as the leading partner. Lastly, England's *external weakness was healed up*, when the internal bickerings were patched up. A newer and greater England grew up with acknowledged leadership of the World, in arms, Colonies and Commerce, in political and religious freedom and intellectual vigour.

Settlement of Sovereignty : The Convention offered the crown jointly to William and Mary. It became clear that Parliament could appoint and depose kings and was superior to kings. The great question of the Stuart period regarding sovereignty was now settled. In order to ensure its supremacy and protect the

liberties of the people, Parliament undertook a series of statutory measures.

Bill of Rights

One of its first acts was the enactment of the Bill of Rights. It formed the third great charter of English liberties and completed the work which the Magna Carta had begun. It declared—

- (a) that the Sovereign had no right without the authority of Parliament to
 - (1) use the pretended power of suspending laws,
 - (2) use the pretended power of dispensing with laws, "as assumed of late,"
 - (3) create commissions and Courts for ecclesiastical cases,
 - (4) levy money by 'pretence of prerogative',
 - (5) raise or keep a standing army in time of peace,
- (b) that the Subject had the right to
 - (1) petition the king,
 - (2) have freedom of election to Parliament,
 - (3) have freedom of speech and debate in Parliament,
 - (4) be secure from excessive bail, fines and cruel punishment,
- (c) that for redress of all grievances and for the strengthening of the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently,
- (d) that those "who are Papists, or shall marry a Papist" shall be incapable of possessing or inheriting the crown.

The Bill of Rights introduced in England Constitutional and Protestant monarchy. Though it did not lay down any general principles or try to define a new system of government, it ensured the supremacy of Parliament and protected liberties of the people. The particular grievances of the people were dealt with by it.

Settlement of the Army

In the Declaration of Rights it had been declared illegal for the king to keep a standing army in time of peace without the consent of parliament. Parliament wished to secure control over army. The Parliament enacted a *Mutiny Act*, 1689, by which the king could maintain a standing army and enforce discipline in it by Court martial. This Act was passed for one year only. It, therefore, necessitated summoning of parliament every year for its renewal. In other words, the king was made dependent upon Parliament and he could not maintain a standing army without consent of parliament. If Parliament felt any danger, it could, by refusing to pass the Mutiny Act, deprive the king of the force.

Settlement of the Revenue

In the past there had been quarrels between previous kings and parliaments over the revenue. Partly to prevent waste of public money and partly to prevent the king from being independent of Parliament, it cut down the revenue of the crown to a very modest limit, resolved to make annual grants and appointed commissioners to admit accounts and ensure the proper appropriation of grants.

This settlement added very greatly to the strength of Parliament in having complete control over the finance and through finance a control over the executive government. The administration achieved great improvement soon thereafter.

Settlement of king-Parliament Relationship

The Parliament had an apprehension that the power of the crown could become over-bearing through various ways and means. To prevent the king from keeping a subservient Parliament for an indefinite period, and to ensure that there were no more Long Parliaments, it was enacted in the *Triennial Act (1694)* that the duration of Parliament should be limited to three years and that Parliament should meet at least once in three years.

It was an important Act of the Revolution settlement. It defined more precisely the clause of the

Declaration of Rights relating to the frequency of Parliament.

Settlement of Religious disabilities

The question of religion, either of the state or of the individual, was a source of trouble between the king and parliament during the seventeenth century. From persecution to toleration is a story, long and meandering and the Revolution settlement through the *Toleration Act* was a memorable achievement of the period.

The Nonconformists had played an important part in the Revolution, and were now rewarded by the Toleration Act which allowed them freedom of worship. Though it removed religious disabilities, their political disabilities were left untouched. The position of the Roman Catholics was unaltered. Still, "the Toleration Act takes the same place in the history of the relations of church and state which the Bill of Rights holds in the history of the relations of king and people."

The ruling idea up to that time had been—one church in one state. The Toleration Act recognised diversity of religious opinions and the need of toleration. Owing to interaction of forces of compromise it became a narrow toleration and not full electionism.

Settlement in tension reduction of political parties

There was great tension in between the political parties—Tories and Whigs. The Whigs were pro-Revolutionists and wished to take vengeance on the Tories who were Jacobites. William desired to conciliate both parties, inasmuch as there was need for unity in England. An Act of Indemnity (1689) was passed. It was followed by an Act of Grace (1690) which gave indemnity for all political offences.

Liberty of the Press

In 1693 a long step was taken towards the emancipation of the press. From the time of Elizabeth the government had sought to muzzle the expression of public opinion by a strict Censorship over all printed matter. William abolished the censorship

by not renewing the Licensing Act. Henceforth the press became free except on grounds of libel.

Law of Treason

The Treason Law was changed so as to ensure some sort of trial. Its main provisions were—

(1) that every person accused of high treason should be allowed the benefit of counsel,

(2) that he should be furnished with a copy of the indictment (charge) at least five days before the trial,

(3) that his witnesses should be sworn, and

(4) that there must be for conviction two witnesses to the same overt act or to two related acts of the same treason.

In short, a formal trial was introduced for treason.

The Act of Settlement, 1701

The Act of Settlement is a document of the highest constitutional importance.

It was passed (a) with the primary object of determining the order of succession after Queen Anne. It stipulated that in the event of King William and Queen Anne dying without issue the throne should go to the Protestant Electress Sophia of Hanover, a grand daughter of James I and her heirs.

(b) It also enacted that the future monarch of England was to be a member of the Anglican Church.

(c) It also laid down that England must not be involved in any foreign war without the consent of Parliament.

(d) It enacted that judges were to receive fixed salaries and were not to be removed from office except on petition by Parliament to the king. This secured the independence of the judges. The independence of the judiciary secured by this Act is the corner stone of the liberty of the subject. They were henceforth to retain their office on good behaviour and not on the pleasure of the king. They could be removed only upon an address to the crown passed by both the Houses.

(a) No royal pardon could be produced as an answer to impeachment. This clause finally established the responsibility of the king's ministers for all acts of state.

Besides, there were temporary clauses. e.g.

(1) The future king was not to leave England without the consent of Parliament.

(2) No minister, placeman or pensioner was to sit in the House of Commons.

(3) State affairs were to be transacted in the full Privy Council and not in Cabinet Councils.

These three articles were however repealed in the next reign. The object of these was to prevent the king and leading ministers from controlling the action of the House of Commons through the bribery of office. Had this law been in operation there would not have grown that close relation between the executive and the legislative, which characterises the English constitution.

In the reign of William III the Cabinet System of government began to grow up steadily. But William III and Anne continued to preside over the cabinet and to guide it, especially in foreign affairs. Thus by a series of Acts the executive was made responsible¹ to the legislature.

3. FOREIGN POLICY OF WILLIAM III

Analysis :

Revolution of 1688 had a bearing on England's Foreign Policy. Beginning of Anglo French hostilities.

Causes :

1. Louis XIV's expansionist policy. His encroachments in Palatinate.
2. Louis supported the cause of James II.
3. William III keen on protecting the Dutch Netherlands.
4. William formed League of Augsburg in favour of Balance of Power.
5. France Catholic, England Protestant.
6. Commercial and colonial rivalry between England and France.

294 ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS AND STUARTS

War of the League of Augsburg, 1690—97.

France *versus* England, Holland, Spain, Brandenburg and Emperor.

Resources : France had large population, army well-equipped and known to be undefeated but navy weak.

The League consisted of alliance of maritime powers like England and Holland.

Events :

Naval—battle of Beachy Head, English and Dutch defeated England apprehended invasion. French delay helped.

Naval—Battle of La Hogue, English victory, Danger of invasion past.

Land—Battle of Namur, Steinkirk lost by the English. English victories later.

Treaty of Ryswick, 1697

- (1) Louis to restore all conquests in the continent except Strassburg.
- (2) Louis to recognise William III as King of England, Results.

(I) THE WAR OF THE LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG

The Revolution of 1688 had a great bearing on the foreign relations between England and her neighbours across the channel. There ensued a period of prolonged conflict for Great Britain. By 1688 the period of active growth of Holland, Portugal and Spain for Colonial empires was past. A prolonged war with France henceforth was in the offing. Between 1688 and 1815 England was engaged in a series of wars with France.

Causes of Anglo-French War

The causes of this long hostility between the two countries were partly European and partly trans-European. First of all, in Europe France had wild ambitions of expansion at the expense of the German States and of the Netherlands. The States of Europe were greatly alarmed when Louis XIV had actually encroached upon his neighbours' lands. They feared upsetting of the Balance of Power in Europe. England became fully alive to the danger and realised that French occupation of Holland and Belgium must be prevented, as that would endanger her maritime trade.

and position. 'No Holland, no Great Britain'—became the motto of the English statesmen.

The chief concern of William III was the protection of his ancestral possessions—the Dutch Netherlands—against the encroachments of Louis XIV. When, however, Louis XIV seized the Palatinate territory east of France, William organised a League of European powers (called the League of Augsburg) to check the aggressive designs of Louis XIV.

About this time William became king of England. To imperil his position in England Louis XIV sheltered James II after he had fled from England and also promised to help him regain the throne,

At this William III persuaded his new subjects—the Englishmen—to join forces with Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands and the Pope to resist Louis XIV. The English people also wanted war because France was Catholic and England Protestant; France had become England's most dangerous commercial and colonial foe in North America; and because France had supported James II whom the English people did not like for his absolutist tendencies.

Events

Louis began the war by invading and devastating the *Palatinate region*. The fighting soon extended to the Sea, where a combined Dutch-English fleet suffered a defeat at the battle of Beachy Head (1690). This defeat exposed England to the chance of a French invasion. But France delayed to follow up victory. James II thereafter announced his intention of returning, and he actually made the attempt. The French fleet which accompanied him was defeated at La Hogue in a naval action. This victory restored the naval supremacy of England and released her from fear of French invasion.

On the *Continental theatre*, the war was being fought fiercely. The English forces lost the battles of Namur, Steinkirk and Neerwinden. Later on the allied troops defeated the French armies along the Rhine. In the Mediterranean the English had blocked a French fleet. In North America neither the French

nor their opponents had any decided advantage, one over the other. The two parties got weary and a peace was signed.

Results

In the *Peace of Ryswick* France agreed to restore all conquered territories but the city of Strassburg and to recognise William III as king of England. It therefore set limits to the aggressive policy of Louis XIV. It was a humiliation to Louis XIV to recognise his principal enemy as king of Great Britain.

One *indirect result* of the conflict was the formation of the Bank of England (1694). Finding it difficult to finance the war, the government, in 1692, borrowed money from a group of individuals and secured the interest with additional duties. Two years later it secured another loan, but this time it incorporated the lenders into a regular company. The Bank, thus based on government credit, was a success from the first.

(II) PARTITION TREATIES AND WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

Analysis :

Problem of Spanish Succession : Vast dominions of Spain and ill health of issueless dying Spanish monarch.

Claimants to the Spanish Throne :

1. Philip, Duke of Anjou : Grandson of Louis XIV. His claim analysed.
2. Archduke of Charles : Son of Holy Roman Emperor, Strongest legal claim.
3. Joseph Ferdinand : Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

Two Partition Treaties : Treaties made by Louis XIV and William III with a view to settle the question without war.

Charles II of Spain made a will—leaving all Spanish dominions to Philip of Anjou. Louis XIV accepted it in disregard of his Partition Treaties. War breaks out.

Causes of War.

1. Acceptance of will by Louis XIV. Balance of Power threatened.
2. Louis expelled the Dutch from Barrier Fortresses.

3. Louis recognised the son of James II as King of England, in disregard of the Treaty of Ryswick.
4. Colonial and commercial rivalries between England and France.

Preparations made by William III, but actual War started during the reign of Anne.

In 1698 there happened a peculiar situation in Europe. Two monarchs arranged for the distribution of the territories belonging to a third monarch in anticipation of his death and did not consult either him or his ministers. Now it happened that the Spanish Hapsburgs were dying out in the male line, Charles II was the last of the Spanish Hapsburgs. He succeeded his father in 1665, but was imbecile and childless and had no brothers. He had a weak health and was not expected to live much longer. It was thought that as he was the last descendant in the legitimate male line of Philip II, there was likely to be some dispute as to his successor.

In those days when kings were absolute rulers and their territories were regarded as personal possessions, much depended upon the royal succession. Spain was then a great power. Its territories remained vast and varied. In Europe they included Spain, the Southern Netherlands, Milan, Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, outside Europe, the whole of South and Central America (except Brazil), Mexico, Florida, the islands in the West Indies and Philippines.

All Europe knew well that on the death of Charles II the great powers would fall out over his vast dominions. A bloody war embracing all Europe was sure to ensue, if things were left to themselves. Thus the question of Spanish succession thrust itself to be a momentous European question even before the death of Charles II.

Claims

The question of succession was, in its legal aspects, briefly this. Charles II was married twice. He had taken a wife each from the royal houses of France (Bourbon) and Austria (Hapsburg). But there was no prospect of his having children. The succession

to his throne was, therefore, to go to claimants by the female side. Now, his eldest sister Maria Theresa was married to Louis XIV; his younger sister Margaret married the Emperor Leopold I. Moreover, his aunt (father's sister) Maria was herself the mother of Leopold. The claims of these three Princesses were represented respectively by their grand children—(a) Philip of France, (b) Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria and (c) the Archduke Charles of Austria.* It was doubtful whether Maria Theresa, Margaret or Maria was the true heir of Charles.

For, according to the ordinary legal rules of succession the inheritance would descend to the children of Charles's elder sister—that is, to Louis the Dauphin and his heirs. But in accordance with the Treaty of the Pyrenees, 1659, which arranged the marriage, Maria Theresa had expressly renounced her claim to Spanish dominions in consideration of a rich dowry. Hence the claim of her son, the Dauphin, was barred. But Louis urged that as the dowry had not been paid, the renunciation of Maria Theresa was therefore cancelled and the Dauphin was heir to the Spanish throne. He had passed his rights to his second son, Philip of Anjou, to avoid the union of the thrones of France and Spain.

The claim of the line of the younger sister of Charles II was that she had married the Emperor Leopold I. She had not renounced her claims and her only daughter Maria Antonia had a better claim than the Dauphin. Maria Antonia was married to the Elector of Bavaria. Her son Joseph, Electoral Prince of Bavaria would therefore have succeeded to the rights of his grandmother. But here again Leopold I compelled his daughter Maria Antonia to renounce her Spanish claims. Thus the descendants of the two sisters of Charles II were excluded by renunciations.

Thirdly, similar renunciations had been made by the wives of Louis XIII and Leopold, but not by Leopold's mother. Leopold I therefore claimed the

*[See genealogical table].

inheritance through his mother Maria, aunt (father's sister) of Charles II. As this Maria had not renounced her claim, Leopold claimed the Spanish throne for himself. He passed his rights to his second son, Archduke Charles, to avoid the union of the thrones of Austria and Spain.

The question of succession was too big to be treated as a private quarrel about some family estates and settled by the rules of the law of real property - it was an international question which concerned many others beyond the rival claimants. The union of the Spanish inheritance with the power of Austria, if achieved, would revive the Empire of Charles V and would increase enormously the power of the Hapsburgs. On the other hand if the ambitions of Louis XIV were realised, a new and formidable Bourbon empire would be erected. In either case the European "balance of power" would be destroyed.

Moreover, bound up with this political problem were grave commercial and colonial questions. The rising maritime powers like Holland and England were looking forward to the extension of their commerce and slave trade in the West Indies from which they were excluded by Spain. They would no longer submit to exclusion from trade. Moreover, union of colonial empires under France and Spain would have prevented them from trading in the colonies. In fine, the principle of the freedom of commerce and the necessity of a balance of power required that dynastic ambitions and personal claims should be subordinated to the common weal of the European family of nations.

It was natural, therefore, that William III as stadtholder of Holland and King of England should hold the balance of power between the Austrian Hapsburgs and the French Bourbons. Both the claimants appreciated this fact and understood that neither would be allowed peacefully to appropriate the entire Spanish inheritance. Louis realised that more could be gained by diplomacy than by War. So to avert a general European War, Louis XIV and

William III of England agreed to partition the Spanish territories among different claimants in advance of the death of Charles II.

Two Partition Treaties

In 1698 the *First Partition Treaty* was effected. According to the provisions of this treaty, on the death of Charles II,

(a) Joseph Ferdinand, Electoral Prince of Bavaria, was to become king of Spain, along with the Spanish Netherlands and the Indies.

(b) Archduke Charles was to receive Milan and Luxemburg,

(c) the Dauphin was to have the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

By this treaty both the Austrian and French candidates were excluded and the Netherlands were saved from France.

In 1699 the Electoral Prince died. So a *Second Partition Treaty* was made. It provided that—

(a) Archduke Charles was to receive Spain, the Indies and the Netherlands,

(b) the Dauphin was to receive Naples, Sicily and Milan.

By the Partition Treaties the Spanish Netherlands were to form a buffer state between Holland and France. The Partition Treaties were particularly unpopular in Spain, as these treaties were concluded in secret and the king of Spain was no party to the negotiations.

Will of Charles II

At last the dying king Charles II of Spain made a will in which he left the whole of his dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou : and if Anjou refused the offer of the Spanish crown, the whole was to go to the Archduke Charles. Philip of Anjou was a grandson of Louis XIV. When the French king learned of the will, he accepted the request on behalf of his grandson.

Immediate causes of war of the Spanish Succession

The acceptance of the will by Louis XIV precipitated a war between France and other states forming a coalition. Against the French candidate Philip, most powers of Europe upheld the claims of the Archduke Charles of Austria, a son of the Emperor. England, Austria and Holland and many smaller states joined in a *Grand Alliance* against France and Spain.

The war began when Louis expelled the Dutch from the 'barrier fortresses' and garrisoned them with French soldiers. The independence of Holland was threatened and with it the fortunes of England were linked. William III therefore determined on war.

England's interest in the War

When Charles II of Spain died, the Tories controlled Parliament in England. William had some trouble in convincing them that war was desirable. Finally he succeeded. England came to appreciate the danger from the will of Charles II. The union of Spain and France was a great menace to upset the Balance of Power in Europe. Besides, it was apprehended that Louis might force England to accept James II as king of England. And when James II died in 1701 Louis recognised the son of James II as king of Great Britain. This was a breach of the treaty of Ryswick. It roused the indignation of the English as it threatened the Revolution settlement and endangered the Protestant succession to the English throne. It was a direct challenge to England. To this was added the attempt of Louis to exclude, by commercial decrees, the Dutch and English from trading with the Spanish Indies. The commercial question was also very important to England. So England decided to declare war against France.

Events of the War

England under the leadership of William III had decided to declare war against France. But in February 1702 William died from a fall from his horse. His death caused no break in policy. The war against France was declared by England during the reign of Queen Anne in May, 1702.

QUEEN ANNE

GREAT BRITAIN ON WAY TO EMPIRE

ANNE, 1702—1714 (12 YEARS)

Chief Characters of the Reign

Duke and Duchess of Marlborough ; Godolphin ; Rochester ; Nottingham ; Prime Eugene ; Harley, Earl of Oxford ; St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke ; Charles Spencer ; Sir Robert Walpole ; Charles Mordaun ; Earl of Peterborough ; Earl Satanhope ; Dr. Sacheverell ; Dukes of Shrewsbury, Argyll and Somerset.

Chief Contemporary Sovereigns

France

Louis XIV, 1643—1715

Spain

Philip and Charles (rivals)

1. ACCESSION OF ANNE AND HER CHARACTER

Analysis :

Her title to throne parliamentary.

Her Character : Average, Dependent on advisers like Marlborough and Godolphin. Pro-Tory views, Sympathy with Church of England, and opposition to Dissenters,

Parliamentary Government advanced Cabinet Government with Party System grew. Waged war against France in the War of Spanish succession. Union of England and Scotland.

Title to throne : After William's death, the youngest child of James II and therefore a Stuart ascended the throne in accordance with the provisions of the Bill of Rights. Her title was, therefore, parliamentary and legal.

Character : In her political sympathies Anne leaned toward the Tories. In religious matters she sympathised with the High churchmen and was opposed to the Dissenters. She depended much on her advisers, among whom were Marlborough and Godolphin. Both of them were moderate Tories and

favoured the prosecution of war (War of Spanish Succession), and later they supported the Whigs who were all the more enthusiastic for war.

Though a woman ruler after Elizabeth, she was unlike Elizabeth. She was average and invalid. So parliamentary system advanced notably in her reign. In the midst of inter-actions between the Whigs and the Tories, party system, a feature of cabinet form of government, took definite shape.

During nearly the whole of her reign England was fighting France in the war of Spanish Succession. It was concluded by the Treaty of Utrecht which gained for England the objects for which she went to war. She advanced far in her march toward the British Empire. Her reign was important for another reason also. It was in 1707 that the Union of England and Scotland took place, the two forming the kingdom of Great Britain.

2, FOREIGN POLICY OF ANNE

Analysis :

War of the Spanish succession

Resources of the opposing parties compared,

Objects of the English in the War.

Events :

Battle of Blenheim—Defeat of French army.

Battle of Ramillies—French and Spaniards driven out of the Netherlands.

Battles of Oudenarde and Malplaquet—French driven out of Flanders.

Gibraltar and Minorca conquered by English.

Treaty of Utrecht .

- (1) Philip V recognised as King of Spain.
- (2) Crowns of France and Spain not to unite.
- (3) Emperor Charles to get Naples, Spanish Netherlands etc
- (4) Dutch got Barrier Fortresses.
- (5) Duke of Savoy got Sicily.
- (6) Louis XIV recognised Anne as Queen of Great Britain.

- (7) England received Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia etc. and had monopoly of slave trade in America and right of sending one ship a year to trade with Spanish colonies in South America.

Results of the War

- (a) Principle of Balance of Power recognised as a Public law of Europe.
- (b) Material benefits to England.
- (c) England emerges as a Sea-Power.

War of the Spanish Succession

When Queen Anne ascended the throne England had already determined to pursue a policy of War against France in the war of the Spanish Succession. Everything was planned by William III. On his death there was no change in the policy.

The reasons that prompted England to meddle in the War of Spanish succession have been stated in the last chapter. Owing to sudden demise of William III he could not conduct the War. It remained to be prosecuted during the reign of Queen Anne.

The operations of the Spanish Succession War

The war of Spanish succession lasted for over ten years (1702-13). At the opening of the war, England, Holland, Austria and most of the German states were on one side, and they were later joined by Portugal and Savoy; on the other side were France, Spain and Bavaria. In the war of the Spanish Succession Marlborough was appointed Captain-General of the allied forces. Prince Eugene of Savoy was his able daring lieutenant, who led the Austrian army. The *chief theatres* of the war were the Netherlands and Germany, and Spain and Italy. It was carried on in this New World and on the sea. The French enjoyed the advantages of a central position and a larger army. The Allies, however, had the better generals and controlled the sea.

Part played by England

The objects of the English in this war were—*firstly*, to keep the French out of the Netherlands; *secondly*, to conquer the French barrier fortresses with a view to advance into the interior of France, *thirdly*, to

prevent Spain from becoming a province of France ; and *fourthly*, to acquire naval bases and colonies for the strengthening of English sea-power.

In the first two years of the War (1702-4) no big engagement was fought. The allies were jealous of each other, and very slow. Marlborough's tasks were to coax and persuade the European princes to beat the enemy Louis, to command the armies to achieve his fall. Marlborough took command in the Netherlands year after year, in battles and sieges, he made good the defence of the Low Countries. Holland was thus saved from French invasion.

In 1704 Marlborough and Prince Eugene completely defeated the Franco-Bavarian army at Blenheim. It was for the first time that the French had been badly beaten since Louis XIV had become king. It was the greatest English victory on the continent since the Battle of Agincourt, three hundred years earlier. The impression of invincibility of the French army was gone. In 1706 Marlborough won further victories at Ramillies, which resulted in the French and Spaniards being driven out of the Netherlands. After two more victories at Oudenarde (1708), and Malplaquet (1709), Marlborough drove the French out of Flanders.

In *Spain* and *Italy*, the English and their allies were not so successful. But the English fleet had several victories at sea. It captured Gibraltar in 1704, and Minorca in 1708. The allies were however defeated at Almanza.

Treaty of Utrecht, 1713

When the war became long drawn out, bloody and costly, England was keen for a peace. In 1713 the war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Utrecht. By it—

(a) Philip V was recognised as king of Spain and the Indies, but the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. The English made this concession to satisfy the Spanish people.

(b) The Emperor of Austria received the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples and Sardinia.

(c) The Dutch got the Barrier Fortresses, and important commercial advantages.

(d) The Duke of Savoy received Sicily.

(e) Louis XIV recognised the claim of Anne and recognised Protestant succession of the Hanoverian line.

(f) England received Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

(g) It got the monopoly of the Slave trade in America and the right of sending one ship a year to trade with the Spanish colonies in the South America.

Results of the War

The Treaty of Utrecht was very important as it was a landmark in the history of international relations. The principle of Balance of Power was now recognised as a part of Public Law of Europe. In other words, it was accepted that settlement of affairs of individual states, involving territorial changes and affecting Balance of Power, was to be undertaken by the collective authority of the great powers. That there was sufficient justification for interference of England in European politics was amply proved.

Moreover, England derived benefits from the war ; it increased England's colonial, commercial, and naval power, exhausted her rivals, greatly stimulated British sea trade. In a word, after the Treaty of Utrecht England emerged as the Chief Sea-power of the world, with freedom to develop her trade and wealth in the period of peace that followed.

Review

Not a full success : The Treaty of Utrecht had been variedly estimated by different historians. One view has criticised that if the war had been continued, France could have been, and some say, should have been, crushed. It is probable that more advantageous terms could have been secured with the mounting victories of Marlborough, if the treaty had not been effected hastily.

Dishonourable to Great Britain

Another view has criticised that the peace was dishonourable to Great Britain, as she shamefully deserted her allies. The treaty was concluded without due consideration for the Dutch and Austrians. The people of Catalonia were left to the vengeance of Philip and the Camisards to that of Louis XIV.

England's participation justified

A third view is that the Settlement of Utrecht was greatest triumph of England at that time. The British people had peculiar interests at stake in this war. In fact, the war of the Spanish succession had touched England more closely than any other member of the Grand Alliance. England had carefully anticipated the dangers to her sea-trade, commerce, colonies in America, trade in India and the West Indies and finally her national security. Her constitution and protestant successions were going to be jeopardised. Owing to these vital considerations England was goaded by sheer self-interest to organise a Grand Alliance against France. She did not stop there even. The War itself was conducted from the very start by her able generals. The war became long, bloody and costly and England's sacrifices were many. At one time there was a strong feeling against the waste of British blood and money. But ultimately when the war ended, England had obtained many a favourable term. Her material gains were strategic, colonial and commercial. The strategic gains consisted of the demolition of the fort of Dunkirk, a stronghold of the French privateers; the occupation of the barrier fortresses by the Dutch, making it impossible for the French to destroy English trade in the Netherlands, the acquisition of Gibraltar and Minorca which gave England command over the Mediterranean. To ensure colonial gains she started a movement of surrounding and compressing French Canada in North America. Her commercial gains consisted of trade advantages in the South American Empire of Spain.

In fine, England had gained her original objects in going to war. Nay, she had made further important additions to her Empire. There is, perhaps, some truth, if also some exaggeration,* in the verdict of an historian that "if at the Armada England entered the race for Colonial expansion, she won it at the Treaty of Utrecht".

3. THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, 1650-1722

Analysis :

Career : Son of a Squire. Military Career in the reigns of Charles II, James II, William III and Anne,

Character : Not steady in principles. Selfish and greedy. Wonderful traits as a soldier and General. Quantities of fortitude, detailed planning, mobility and speed. Good manners,

As a General :

1. Power of planning and execution.
2. A strategist: Vision, anticipation and analytical qualities.
3. A tactician. Revolutionised Infantry fighting. New technique introduced speed.
4. Victories in Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde and other battles.

As a Diplomat : His policy oriented by his War. First a Tory. Then a Whig.

Estimate.

Career

John Churchill was the son of a squire. He was born in 1650. He saw service in Holland as a colonel in the French service during Charles II's reign. In the time of James II, Marlborough's coolness saved the situation at Sedgemoor. After the revolution, he was frustrated because he felt that he was not well rewarded for his services. In the time of William, he led successful operations in Ireland. Finally, William III chose him as the

*Really speaking, Great Britain secured colonial supremacy with the Peace of Paris after the Seven Years' War when the French power was crushed in India and in America.

leader of the English forces when the Spanish succession War broke out.

Character

In his early years he was a man of no scruples. He was ready to betray his friends to serve his own interests. Although he worked as a servant of James II, he deserted him in 1689. In 1692 he intrigued against William III on behalf of Anne in the hope that her succession would favour his rise. In 1694 he leaked out to the French information regarding a projected attack on Brest in order to disgrace his rival Talmach. From 1694 onwards, he vigorously supported William III.

He was utterly selfish and extremely avaricious. He took £ 63,000 as commission from the army bread-contractors. It was even said that he received 2½% of all the subsidies paid by England to allies. One writer says, "He is perhaps the only man of real greatness who loved money for money's sake". But he had good traits too in his character. He was strikingly handsome and his manners were irresistibly captivating. He was forceful and dynamic.

As General

Voltaire has said that "Marlborough was a great general and a great diplomatist too—the best of his age". He was a remarkable tactician and strategist and he was able to see through an enemy's weak points within no time. Whenever necessary he often moved with tremendous agility and alacrity and took the enemy by surprise. The enemy could hardly thereby see through his real object. His speedy tactics and manoeuvres exhibited at Blenheim, Ramillies and Oudenarde are examples in point. These were his great success. It is rightly said that no move of his was faulty.

The greatness and success of his military tactics consisted in the fact that his tactics were entirely revolutionary. Before he fought his famous battles in the Spanish Succession War, military strategists emphasized on garrisons and fortresses. Contrary to this, Marlborough relied on quick manoeuvres.

The defensive art was yielding to offensive tactics, stagnation to military enterprise and mobility. Added to this, the strategists before Marlborough never put any great reliance on the infantry. But with him the infantry possessing muskets with bayonets, became an effective part of successful military strategy. His army could easily make effective use of all arms. Thus while the gun was discharged, ring-bayonet could be left on. Consequently pikemen were abolished.

Secondly, he insisted upon accuracy in infantry shooting and taught all ranks to fight simultaneously. The efficiency of the infantry was increased. With the abolition of pikemen, six-deep formation of infantry was changed to a thin line of three-deep, which fired simultaneously but not consecutively as the French. It thereby concentrated the greatest volume of fire upon the enemy.

Thirdly, he made the cavalry rely on the momentum of their charge rather than on their fire-power. He showed great capacity in utilizing them at the critical moment with decisive effect.

Fourthly, he handled the artillery with remarkable skill and used to lay every gun, as at Blenheim, under his own eye.

Finally, he understood the strategy of global warfare and he ably combined land and sea forces in his operations.

As a strategist

Marlborough was superb. He had the power of conceiving and executing combined movements in a large scale, e.g. in the Campaign of 1704. His uncanny, sense for strategy was infallible. "He never fought a battle which he did not win, nor besieged a town which he did not take."

The battles that were won by him were a matter of details. By the time he took command of the Dutch and the English armies, the French were in complete control of the whole of Spanish Netherlands. So he clearly discerned that his objects would be to drive the French from the Spanish Netherlands, to advance into the interior of France and to

build the Sea-power of England. In the beginning he concentrated his attention on expelling the French from the Spanish Netherlands. Then he planned the *tour de force* of his military career. This was his great victory of Blenheim in 1704. It happened like this. The emperor was in a precarious position as his Hungarian subjects rose in revolt, and his general, Prince Eugene, was defeated by the French while Louis XIV prepared to march on Vienna. Hence in order to save the emperor, Marlborough left the Netherlands and by lightning marches joined the forces of Prince Eugene on the Danube. He misled the enemy by letting out a rumour that he would capture Moselle in order to attack Paris. The rapidity with which he marched and the quickness with which he attacked the enemy's centre, took the enemy by surprise. It was said that on this occasion, Marlborough altered the formation of his army in a quarter of an hour. In this battle Marshal Tallard himself was captured with 10,000 prisoners. The English lost only 672 soldiers. Immediately after the battle, Marlborough pursued the French across the Rhine and then returned to the Netherlands.

In the Netherlands he fought six campaigns in the remaining six years. In 1706 he won the battle of Ramillies. He so planned the strategy that the French General, Villeri, concentrated his forces at a place where they were of little use to resist the English. Again, in 1708 he took the French by surprise at Oudenarde and drove the French across the frontier. In 1709 he beat the French at Malplaquet. A few more feathers were there in his cap. Sir George Rooke, the commander of an English fleet, captured Gibraltar. It was the acquisition of Gibraltar that ushered the English into the Mediterranean and all the future exploits of the English therein. In 1708 Minorca was captured. More than this, a landing was made in 1706 near Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia. Indeed, the allies suffered a defeat at Alamanza, but the strategy speaks for the greatness of Marlborough.

His greatest virtue as a general was his ability to keep together and manage his armies, composed of a heterogeneity of the English, Dutch, Prussians and Hanoverians. It required great tact, leadership and courage to inspire a cohesion in such a mass which had separatist and selfish tendencies in that age. He was an excellent speaker and possessed charming manners. These also helped him to keep the Alliance together. He wielded the charm of a genuinely conciliatory heart with suspicious Dutchmen, grasping German princes or crude Charles of Sweden. He won the British rank and file by unshakable fortitude; and ceaseless care for their food and welfare.

His greatness as a military commander became obvious when we remember the fact, that although he prolonged the war for his own personal glory he never lost a battle. In the language of Reese, "His emotions were the servants of his reason; by calculation, and not by impulse, he saw what he could justifiably attempt, and what he attempted he accomplished. So well did his head rule his heart that until 1711, when he had prolonged the war for his own glorification, he was never on the losing side."

As a Politician

Marlborough wielded great power in politics. His home politics were decided by the war. To start with, he was a Tory but later on switched over to the Whigs as the former did not support the war. At one time he said that all parties were alike, unreasonable and unjust. In other words, he was interested in politics only when it served his interests. Hence the remark of a writer that his love for his domineering wife, Sarah, ran like a thread of gold through the dark web of his career.

The above resume of the career of the Duke of Marlborough shows that he was a typical representative of the age when politicians changed their affiliations like summer and winter clothes. Leaving aside his personal life, his military career was one lightning flash of glory. He invited the odium of both the

parties. Yet, he was the man who raised the prestige of England on the continent because it was only after the battle of Blenheim that the parliamentary democracy of England became popular. Marlborough as a military strategist and a tactician, as a war statesman and war diplomatist, stands second to no Englishman in history. "His powers resemble those of Chatham and Clive rolled into one". "For the purpose of striking down a great military monarchy, he was Wellington and Castlereagh combined".

TUDOR PERIOD

A. FOREIGN RELATIONS

1. ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS

*Analysis :***Pre-Tudor Anglo-Scottish Relations .**

Scotland generally hostile towards England.

Scotland in friendliness with France, enemy of England.

Border fighting

Catholic leanings.

Tudor Period :

Change of Scottish Policy by Tudors : Friendly relations.
Change of times and change of rulers.

Henry VII . Policy of marriage between Margaret and James,
Policy of peace and penetration.

Henry VIII . Punishing rebel chiefs, sending Kildare to Tower:

Battle of Flodden Field and Solway Moss

Peaceful method. Proposal to marry Edward VI with Mary.

Edward VI and Mary Tudor : Proposal of marriage between Edward VI and Mary Stuart fizzled out. Hostility between two countries.

Elizabeth : Many vicissitudes in relation between two countries.
Ultimate success owing to the Reformation.

Review : Earlier policy of dynastic marriage was defective.
Later policy of common religion bondage (Reformation)
proved successful for better understanding between two countries.

During the Tudor reign the relations between England and Scotland were very much strained. It came to a climax during the time of Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots. The rivalry between the Queens of England and Scotland can be properly understood only when the trend of Scottish history in the sixteenth century and before is followed in broad outlines.

Relation of hostilities: England and Scotland were two kingdoms in one island. Scotland, lying in the north of Great Britain, was only half as large as England. The latter was richer than Scotland and had more population. So the Scots always felt that the English might try to conquer them. As a matter of fact the English kings from a very early time, tried to make out some claim that they were the feudal lords of Scotland. They referred this claim to the gift of Strath Clyde and Lothian territories to the Scottish kings by Edmund and Edgar. But this feudal relation was vague and undefined. To all intents and purposes, however, the Scottish kings were independent; and often times the English monarchs had attempted to force a unification of both the countries, but all ended in vain.

In broad outlines, therefore, the relations between England and Scotland were, in pre-Tudor days, full of hostilities. They were always unfriendly, and sometimes at war; and when they were not at war raids and counter-raids across the border were common. This relation of hostilities was further accentuated by Franco-Scottish alliances. Since the time of Edward I Scotland had always allied with France against England, as both were common enemies of England. And France was unfriendly on account of English attempts to obtain the French crown. So whenever there was war between England and France in the continent, a Scottish invasion of the Northern countries or fighting in the borders was the usual feature of the period.

Change of Scottish Policy under the Tudors

When the first Tudor King Henry VII ascended the throne of England, the old English policy towards Scotland was sought to be changed. *The general aim of Tudor policy was to establish more friendly relations with Scotland.* (1) About the same time there was a change of rulers in Scotland also. In 1488 James IV became King in Scotland; and this country entered a new epoch now. So a climate grew for better understanding. (2) Though the older Scots

hated the English bitterly, there grew a new generation among the Scots with a new outlook. This was possible by the rapid growth of Scottish civilization in the fifteenth century, when three new universities reduced the migrations of students to Paris. (iii) The sons of landowners were asked to learn Latin and poets Dunbar and Gavin roused Scottish imagination and nationalism. (iv) The pirate traders, who increased national wealth, had friendlier communication with England and Ireland; (v) The Lollards on reaching Scotland from England and Bohemia had paved the way of growth of a feeling for Reformation. Soon there engendered a sentiment in Scotland which opposed war with England, having more interest now in trade and low taxation than in the old French alliance.

Henry VII—James IV Period

Henry VII's claim to the English crown was disputed. He was threatened with risings of pretenders who received shelter in Scotland. In Scotland, again, James IV was also in fear of the warring barons against him. So Henry VII proceeded shrewdly in his dealings with Scotland. *He followed a policy of penetration and peace.* In the beginning he created trouble for James IV by sending armaments to the baronial opponents of the king and by continuous intrigues with the conflicting factions. Angus was pensioned by Henry VII to assist his intrigues in Scotland. But soon afterwards a tense situation arose when the pretender, Perkin Warbeck, was supported by James IV. At that juncture, Henry decided to follow his policy of *royal marriage*, that is, the marriage of a prince of one country to a princess of another country with a view to make the two countries friendly. He offered James IV his daughter Margaret. When James abandoned Warbeck the marriage came about in 1503. The two countries remained on good terms for 10 years. It gave England a direct interest in the succession, and ultimately paved the way for the future union of the two countries.

Henry VIII—James IV—and—James V Period

In the reign of Henry VIII, Scotland once again figured. The Scots were also responsible for re-starting the trouble when England was at war with Spain and France. The Scots reverted to the old anti-English traditional policy and were emboldened to cross the Border. But this invasion was utterly crushed at Flodden in 1513. In this battle, the Scottish King James IV with his nobles was slain. His son James V was the next King of Scotland.

Henry VIII tried to be friendly with his nephew. But the latter preferred the French alliance and married a French princess. By this marriage a French and Catholic party entrenched itself in Scotland. Henry VIII felt the presence of this party in Scotland too much to be tolerated. So he put forward the medieval claim of the English crown to the suzerainty of Scotland. English troops crossed the border and inflicted a severe defeat on the Scots at Solway Moss in 1542. James V died broken-hearted and his infant daughter, Mary, was left the ruler of the kingdom.

Now Henry tried peaceful methods to win over Scotland by betrothing Mary to Edward. But the English Parliament insisted that the king should recover the Scottish crown that was rightly his. Meantime as assistance came from France the Scots broke off negotiations with England. The Scots planned to marry their queen to a French prince. To checkmate this move, Henry was forced to declare war on France. The English took Edinburgh and burnt it. About this time the French wavered because of the murder of Cardinal Beaton. Henry wisely concluded a peace with France. But he planned a campaign against the Scots to force the royal match, just before his death, when the Scots did not like the match.

Edward VI, Mary Tudor and Mary Stuart Period

Henry died, without achieving the union between Edward VI and Mary Stuart. The issue of marriage was again taken up by Somerset during the time of

Edward VI. He inflicted a severe defeat on the Scots at Pinkie. At this the Scots in anger, sent Mary to the court of France and there she was married to the Dauphin, the future Francis II of France. Huntly put the Scottish feelings thus: "I dislike not the match, but the manner of the wooing."

Elizabeth—Mary Stuart Period*

When Elizabeth became Queen of England, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, posed a great danger to her. From the Catholic point of view Mary had a better lineal claim to the English throne, and her marriage with the French King made Elizabeth deeply concerned over the Franco-Scottish alliance. But Elizabeth's position was saved by the Reformation which was being introduced and firmly settled in Scotland. The Scottish Reformation which was the work of the people and not of the crown, as in other lands, became deeply entrenched in Scotland in spite of the Catholic religion of Mary Stuart. There ensued a period of Catholic-Presbyterian clashes in Scotland, and when the Scottish nobles turned to Elizabeth for help, she supported them. The situation in Scotland went out of the control of Mary Stuart, who saved her life by fleeing to England. With her entry into England her connection with Scotland ceased. With the fall of Mary the Scottish nobles, Lords of the Congregation, remained all-powerful in Scotland and Mary's son James VI was reared under tutors and guardians appointed by them. He was brought up as a Presbyterian, and not a Catholic. He grew up under Regencies of the Earls of Moray, Mar, Lennox and Morton. Though the mother of James VI was kept a prisoner and beheaded later, James was unable to carry his country to move against Elizabeth. The last Tudor queen, however, in her death-bed named the king of Scots, James VI, as her successor. After Elizabeth James VI of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart, ascended the English throne as James I. His accession united Scottish and English crowns.

Review of Tudor policies

The first Tudor King began with a policy of Peace. He had many initial difficulties. So peace and order in England and its northern border was the first need. He thought of establishing better relations between England and Scotland through the dynastic marriages between princes and princesses of the two countries. For, it was then believed that a king was the master of a country and the people were his properties and bound to follow what the king would ask them to do.

But these notions were gradually going to fade away. Thus, while marriage between James IV and Margaret was helpful in maintaining peaceful relations between England and Scotland during Henry VII, it was unable to continue during Henry VIII. The questions of greater advantages, political and commercial, those of balance of power and those of religious equanimity greatly influenced the policy of the Scottish kings and so Franco-Scottish alliance were again cultivated by James V.

Then came the wave of Reformation in England and Scotland. The king in Scotland was Catholic, but the people had greatly turned to Protestantism. England had also become protestant about the same time; and there were many things in common between the protestant religions of the two countries, which went by the name of presbyterianism and Anglicanism. As England and Scotland became more emotionally integrated through a common culture and common religious sentiments and equally common religious aversions, a more lingering friendship between the two countries grew up. What the earlier Tudor policy of marriage alliances could not achieve was possible through the later policy of Elizabeth and Cecil, supporting the Reformation in Scotland against the Catholic Reaction. The defects and lacunae in the policy of earlier Tudors were ably read by Elizabeth who made it change to suit the times and the people; and then it became a success.

2. ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS

Analysis :

Pre-Tudor Anglo-Irish Relations :

English king as 'Lord of Ireland.' English authority nominal. Rule of tribal clans.

Tudor Policy : Policy of introducing English authority in Ireland.

Henry VII : In'tervention. Poynings' Rule and Act. Dealings with Kildare.

Henry VIII : Firmer policy. 'King of Ireland.'

Edward VI and Mary : Policy of plantation:

Elizabeth . Revolts. Conquest of Ireland.

Estimate of Policy.

Irish Relations in pre-Tudor Age

Ireland is wedded to Great Britain by the ground-plan of the world. Apart from geographical position, England and Ireland are inter-related historically also. Before the beginning of the Tudor period there existed prior English connections with Ireland. In the reign of Henry II some Norman adventurers had established themselves in Ireland and ruled in feudal fashion. The English king used to be termed as "Lord of Ireland," and his power was only nominal and not real. Most of the people lived in tribal fashion and were loyal only to the heads of their clans. The whole country was parcelled out among these groups. Many of the ruling families were of pure Irish origin. (Irishry), while others were Norman (Englishry). The important Irishry houses were the O'Neills of Ulster and the O'Donnells of Donegal, while the Englishry houses were Fitzgeralds.

There was however an English government at Dublin and its authority existed in the area known as the "Pale". Within the Pale the Lord Deputy ruled in the king's name. The whole country was poor, backward, ignorant and oppressed. Constant inter-tribal warfare prevailed there.

Tudor Policy

The first Tudor King, Henry VII, had the foresight to introduce in Ireland government after the English pattern, lest a foreign power should forestall it. The

earlier English kings thought the conquest of France to be a fairer enterprise and would not like to interfere in Ireland. But Ireland could be a potential source of trouble, if not tackled properly.

About the time of accession of Henry VII, Ireland came into the focus of history. The Irish helped the Pretenders to the English throne—Lambert Simnel and Parkin Warbeck. After defeating the Pretenders Henry VII sent Poynings as Lord Deputy of Ireland. The latter held a Parliament there in 1494 by which the famous Poynings' Law was passed. It was enacted that—

- (1) No Parliament should meet in Ireland without the King's consent.
- (2) No law should be passed by the Irish Parliament without the King's previous consent.
- (3) Existing English law should hold good in Ireland.

The intervention of Henry VII was not thorough. Conquest would have been the only answer to the conspiracy and war led by the Irish. But on grounds of economy, it was not pursued. Henry's general *policy of Peace* led him to excuse the Earl of Kildare who turned traitor and even marry him to king's cousin Elizabeth St. John.

Henry VIII's Policy

Henry VIII took more interest in Irish affairs. He endeavoured to make Ireland more peaceful and more closely connected with England. He pursued a firmer policy than that of his father. He broke down the power of the house of Fitzgerald and quelled their revolt. The suppression of these Geraldines proved that English authority was becoming more real.

The English land tenure, English justice and Long Wages Act were introduced in Ireland. But at length economy and statesmanlike enquiry induced Henry to try a wiser scheme. He dropped the old title of "Lord of Ireland" and called himself the "King of Ireland". Taking this title he swept aside the medieval policy of two nations, which had excluded

the Irish from English law. The chieftains got the secure title of tenants-in-chief and a share of monastic land.

The two islands came nearer in thought and feelings. For a few years the new plan of Henry VIII showed fair promise. Henry VIII's quarrel with Rome and suppression of monasteries had their repercussion also in Ireland. The monasteries there were destroyed. But the people there were Papists at heart. The country was quiet for a time.

Under Edward and Mary Tudor

But the attempt to extend the Reformation to Ireland in Edward VI's time evoked strong opposition there. Mary restored Roman Catholicism. But discontent became rife owing to the policy of the English government to introduce Plantations of English settlers there. The English people came to settle down in Ireland and Irish lands were given to them. The root of the trouble was that the land in Ireland belonged to the clan and not any chief; only the strong man of the clan was the successor. Discontent therefore became widespread.

Under Elizabeth

Elizabeth had, however, to deal with a number of revolts. She put down these Irish risings with great cruelty; and carried out the policy of plantations in Ireland. Her relations with Ireland were full of difficulties.

Early in her reign there occurred the rising of Shanne O' Neill, the chief of the Irish tribe in Ulster. He invaded the English Pale, but was repulsed. He was later on killed by a rival clan. After Shanne, there reigned comparative peace for a time.

Later, the people of Ireland were meanwhile incited by the forces of Counter-Reformation. The Pope sent priests and Jesuits and Philip sent soldiers to kindle a rebellion in Ireland. For, Spain had an eye on this island to make it a province of Spain and use it as a base for attack on England. The Spaniards landed at Smerwick, but were repulsed by the English.

Then Spain incited the Earl of Desmond to rise in revolt. Elizabeth quelled the revolt with great cruelty and reduced the Desmond country to a desert. Large districts of Munster were confiscated and given to Englishmen on condition that they would induct English settlers.

After this Ireland was quiet for about twenty years. But the Irish hatred for England and their new zeal for Catholicism united all Irish people under Earl of Tyrone to rise up in a national Catholic revolt against English supremacy. Elizabeth apprehended Spanish support and sent Earl of Essex to conquer Ireland. Essex mismanaged and failed. She then sent Lord Mountjoy who besieged Kinsale where a second Spanish expeditionary force was sent and captured the whole force. O' Neill was forced to submit, and Ireland was conquered in 1603. The Conquest of Ireland was complete. He built a chain of forts to keep down the conquered districts. The Irish succumbed to the force temporarily but hated the English.

Critical Estimate

The Irish policy of the Tudor kings was not systematic and constructive. It was harsh and unsuccessful. Ireland was pro-Yorkist and so aided the pretenders to the English throne during the early days of the Tudor rule. The Tudor kings had therefore been very harsh against the Irish, who were also lovers of independence. The Irish people who were Roman Catholics hated the Protestant English. Risings and rebellions continued to obsess the Tudor monarchs from 1485 to 1603. They leagued with the foes of England—viz., the Pope and the King of Spain. Tudor monarchs who were grim and determined had therefore tried only the method of ruling Ireland with brute force. They were greatly dissatisfied with the treachery of Irish chiefs.

The policy of 'plantation' was only a ramification of that method also. During the Tudor rule in Ireland, the Irish people regarded the English king as the king of Ireland. The Irish Church was, like the

English, under royal control, but the people were incipiently opposed to it. The great Irish families had been subjugated. Appeased by the grant of titles and bribed with gifts of monastic lands, they rendered more or less willing obedience to the crown ; but those who opposed, betrayed or revolted were destroyed by the mighty arm of the king of England. They ruled with brute force only.

As a result the main problems of Ireland remained unsolved under the Tudors. The Tudor rule was therefore a conspicuous failure in the government of Ireland. The Irish people remained as discontented and hateful of the English in 1603 as in 1485 ; rather, they grow more hatred towards England in 1603. There is truth in the statement that "The Tudors' most conspicuous failure was in the government of Ireland."

The Tudor rule had created problems for the posterity. The abolition of the native upper class to make room for English landlords left this peasant nation with no leaders but the priests, and no sympathisers but the enemies of England. As landlords were deprived of their lands, the traditional clans of Ireland were broken up. With the disappearance of these clans, Ireland became a nation. Elton puts it thus : "It was England's triumph that made possible the growth of an Irish nation." During the last thirty years of Elizabeth's reign the Irish history had taken its characteristic mould.

3. ANGLO-SPANISH RELATIONS

Spanish Policy of Henry VII

During the reign of Henry VII, the first Tudor King, Spain had become much more powerful than it had been before and was ambitious to seize territories in Italy. In order to promote his interests, Ferdinand, King of Spain sought means to guard himself against the French King, who claimed authority over northern Italy. England was then

the natural enemy of France. So with Henry VII he made alliance and the English King agreed to join it. He joined the League of Venice, in which the Pope was a party. Soon after a marriage alliance was effected between England and Spain. Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII, was married to Catharine of Aragon, the daughter of the Spanish King. Thus England and Spain came nearer to each other. The English King's son had been married to the daughter of one of the oldest houses in Europe. The Tudors could now no longer be called upstarts. Within a year of this marriage Arthur died. But Henry VII was eager to continue the Spanish connections. So he gave his second son Henry VIII in marriage to Catharine. The marriage of a man with his brother's widow was against the law of the church, but the Pope gave a special license or dispensation, allowing the union in this particular case. For the moment Henry VII was satisfied. Ferdinand and Henry VII were good friends. The relation between England and Spain remained cordial.

Henry VIII's Relations with Spain

The cordial relation between the two countries did not last long. After 17 years of this marriage Henry wanted to divorce his queen Catharine, who was five years senior to him. As Henry had no male heir by Catharine, he began to profess that he had committed a sin by marrying his brother's widow. For this, God had punished him with no male issue. He was eager to rectify this mistake. Moreover, he became tired of Catharine, as she grew old. He fell in love with Anne Boleyn, a court beauty and one from whom he expected a male heir. But he could not marry her without "divorcing" Catharine or rather without declaring his marriage with Catharine null and void. So he required from the Pope an annulment of his marriage with Catharine. But the Pope hesitated as he disliked to reverse an act of a former Pope, and did not want to anger Catharine's powerful kinsman Charles VI of Spain.

When the Pope showed inordinate delay in disposing of the prayer of Henry VIII for annulment of his marriage with Catharine, the rage of the Tudor despot knew no bounds. He decided to snap all connections with the Church of Rome.

In 1529 parliament was summoned and it sat for seven long years. Later it became famous as the "Reformation parliament". It was in this parliament that Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer pronounced that "Catharine was not, and never had been, Henry's lawful wife". With this historic declaration, the relation between England and Spain became strained.

Elizabethan Era in Spanish Policies

When Elizabeth rose to the throne of England, Philip II, the husband of Mary Tudor became the Spanish king. During Mary's rule, England became an appendage of Spain and Philip found the English alliance very helpful to promote his religious and political views. But when Elizabeth came to the English throne, the relation between England and Spain changed. Philip was ambitious and over mighty, ever ready to tag England to his side, but the English queen was of remarkable intelligence and patriotism, unwilling to give Philip any advantage. She had the political insight to foresee that a war with Spain was inevitable. But she wanted to delay it as far as possible.

Spanish Policy in Early part of Reign

In the early years of her reign, Elizabeth's chief enemy was Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland and France. There was possibility of union of two thrones of Scotland and France. France was inimical to Spain. So Elizabeth counted on the hostility of these two European countries. Further Elizabeth knew that her country was weak also. At that time Philip of Spain proposed to marry Elizabeth. Elizabeth humoured him by telling that if she at all marries she would give him due considerations. Moreover, she promised that if she married him, he would make no

pirate Philip was greatly exasperated. After the execution of Mary in 1587, Philip visualised that Catholicism had no hope of revival in England. Delay would be dangerous. He became determined to attack England to avenge the death of Mary Stuart and to bring England politically, religiously and commercially into harmony with his Spanish policies.

In 1588, the Spanish Armada came. It was defeated off Granelines, after which a storm destroyed it. The defeat of Spanish Armada shattered Philip's navy and authority. Though Philip continued in small ways, to annoy and irritate Elizabeth and war with Spain continued for some time, with Drake and other English seaman, the failure of the Armada proved the soundness of the Queen's Spanish policy. Her reputation rose high.

General Estimate of Elizabeth's Policy

It united England under Elizabeth, ended the Catholic threat and marked the beginning of English naval supremacy. Through a metamorphic change of Spanish policy from pacificism to belligerency Elizabeth made England the most important and powerful country in the continent.

Critical Estimate

Some have criticized the Spanish policy of the queen. It has been dubbed as "essentially Machiavellian", "a crooked and tortuous policy" and "extremely opportunistic". A foreign policy is adjudged a success or a failure according to its results. It cannot be denied that the foreign policy of Elizabeth, particularly with her relations to Spain then a big power, was a complete success. She was able to save her country from the dangers threatened by Philip II. Watchfulness and flexibility were the essence of her foreign policy. Her foreign policy changed with circumstances and thus her Spanish policy was realistic, and this realism explains why her Spanish policy was at first friendly and then hostile. Judging by the results—that is, by following such policies she could save herself and her England from Spanish domination—it may be said that her foreign policy was successful.

B. MARITIME ACTIVITIES

ORIGIN OF SEA-POWER

Analysis :

Pre-Tudor Period : Little taste for maritime activity. Foreign trade carried in foreign ships. Example of Spain and Portugal.

Henry VII : Helped Cabot's voyage to Newfoundland.

Conditions favourable for maritime activity.

- (1) End of civil war.
- (2) Proximity to the Seas.
- (3) Royal patronage.
- (4) Renaissance
- (5) Accounts of Hakluyt.
- (6) Brisk cloth trade
- (7) Growth of middle classes.

Henry VIII : Visualised the importance of sea-power. Built docks, harbours, merchant ships. Established Trinity House Encouraged deep sea fishing. introduced 'port-holes.'

Edward VI and Mary : Piracy in the English Channel. Channel Rovers attacked Spanish ships.

Elizabeth : Encouraged maritime activities in the interest of—

- (a) Trading : Hawkin's slave trade.
 - (b) Piratical attack : Drake and 'sea dogs.' Armada assailed by 'sea dogs.'
 - (c) Settlements : by Gilbert, Raleigh.
 - (d) Explorations : by Chancellor and Willoughby. Frobisher, Davis.
 - (e) Chartered companies like East India Company. The Spanish Armada. Its defeat.
- Further encounters between England and Spain. Emergence of England as a mighty Sea-Power after the Armada.

During the Middle ages the European nations did not take interest in maritime activities. The English

people were also not a sea-faring race. But about the middle of the fifteenth century Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal opened a School for training sailors. His efforts led to the activities of the Portuguese on the High Seas. The Spaniards followed suit and new lands were discovered. Both Portugal and Spain became very rich as their foreign trade rapidly increased.

In the middle ages : Before the Tudor period the English people had lost taste for maritime adventure and became a race of farmers. Though a few naval battles were fought the Royal Navy contained a few ships. When warships were needed, merchant ships were taken into the king's service ; and English trading ships were also not many at that time. For, much of England's foreign trade was carried in ships belonging to Hanse merchants, to Dutch traders, to Gascon wine merchants and also to Venetians.

Tudor period : under Henry VII

Under the Tudors England did not lag behind. Henry VII took interest in participating in the maritime activities of the time which offered both adventure and economic gain. He gave pecuniary help to the Bristol merchants who sailed to find new lands. The *first voyage of discovery* was captained by an Italian captain named John Cabot in 1497. *The Cabot expedition* with a crew of eighteen Englishmen resulted in the discovery of Labrador and Newfoundland. Next year another expedition was led ; but no settlement was made. The credit, however, of laying the foundations of future maritime activities of the days of Elizabeth and later times should be laid at the door of Henry VII's interest and promotional zeal.

Favourable Circumstances

With the change of times, there were a few favourable circumstances which helped the origin and development of naval power during the time of the Tudors. These may be enumerated thus :

Firstly, the end of civil war at home and war abroad enabled the restless spirits of the English people to find expression in various activities. The disbanded retainers of nobles and the demobbed soldiers of the wars thronged the decks of the ships which went to far-off lands in search of fortunes.

Secondly, it was natural for England to think in terms of exploring the high seas. No part of England was more than 70 miles from the coast. In other words, every Englishman was, by instinct, a sailor rather than a soldier. For quite a long time the English people of Devon and Cornwall were venturing on the high seas. With the establishment of peace in England during the Tudor period, this *proximity to the seas* attracted the English people to maritime activities.

Thirdly, royal patronage also went a long way in giving an impetus to this development of England. Henry VII sedulously fostered commerce and trade and founded the merchant navy. His son Henry VIII greatly encouraged the English navy so much so that he was called the 'Father of Royal Navy'. The encouragement given by Queen Elizabeth to the seafaring activity was ever memorable. Everyone is aware of the romantic accolade of Drake after his return from the circumnavigation of the world.

Fourthly, the renaissance also gave a fillip to the birth of the English navy. By making the people curious and desirous of knowing things, the renaissance movement gave the necessary life-breath to the expansion of the navy in the Tudor period.

Fifthly, the accounts of sea-farers like Hakluyt fired the imagination of Englishmen. A seaman who returned after his travels, was quite a figure in the ports. Enraptured by the stories of seamen and explorers the English dreamed of magic casements opening on the high seas.

Sixthly, necessity is the mother of invention. The *cloth industry of England* demanded that the country should have more of markets and, naturally,

the navy was given a proper thought by the Englishmen.

Finally, we may state that the *social changes* in the country also facilitated the rise of English naval power. By the year 1415, a great number of serfs were emancipated and consequently the middle class grew in importance. This newly-gained freedom impelled a great number of English people to seek King Solomon's Mines. In the towns grew up a band of bankers, merchants and shop-keepers who encouraged trade and commerce. The experiences of all these people enriched the naval seafaring traditions of England.

Under Henry VIII

In the reign of Henry VIII began really the maritime activities of the English. He had the vision to see that England must be defended on the sea. So he built more than eighty ships for the Royal Navy. His ships were different from the "galleys" in the service of Spain and France. Galleys were rowed by slaves, and in a naval battle the fight on a galley had to ram or board the galleys of the enemy. In any case the two galleys had to come very close to the enemy. But Henry's ships were sailing ships with guns mounted on them. They could thus sink the galleys of an enemy without coming close to them,

During this reign, many merchant ships were also built, Monastic wealth was used for purposes of coastal defence and harbour improvement. The English coast was made safer for shipping by placing buoys and beacons. He established the *Trinity House*. River channels were deepened by dredging and docks were built. He encouraged men to go a-fishing on the Newfoundland banks.

After Henry VIII a new form of maritime activity viz, piracy, grew up in the English Channel. The times were troubled and so pirates thronged the English Channel. Galleys trading between Spain and the Netherlands passed through the English Channel. Men of Devon and Cornwall built fast ships and

attacked Spanish galleys and secured many a prize. These "*Channel Rovers*" were good seamen. This piracy continued in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth. Their activities weakened Spain and made England stronger.

Under Edward and Mary

Besides, colonial activities were continued on the reigns of Edward and Mary. Willoughby sailed to find new passage to the East and Lok and Towerason made voyages to the Guinea Coast.

Under Elizabeth

The reign of Elizabeth saw a great activity of the English seamen. The example of growing richness of Spain and Portugal through their colonial trade tempted many Englishmen to take to colonisation, colonial trade and piracy—the total effect of all these activities led to greater maritime enterprises.

Frobisher tried to find a north-west passage to Asia and made several voyages to the northern coast of Canada and Labrador. These were all directed to find an English route to the east, the southern route being in the hands of the Portuguese. But as the frozen Arctic proved inaccessible, English seamen turned their attention to warmer latitudes.

Hawkins was a great seaman. He used to take his ships to Africa and carried a large number of Negroes to Spanish America where he used to sell them and earn huge profits. The Spaniards were dissatisfied with him, for it meant a breach of Spanish monopoly of the sea and a great loss to Spanish merchants.

Francis Drake was another great privateer of Elizabeth. He made himself conspicuous by preying upon Spanish ships and plundering Spanish ports in America. He made a voyage round the world in his famous ship "*Golden Hind*" (1580-81), plundering Spanish towns on the Pacific coast and returned home, laden with booty. The queen showed her appreciations of his exploits by knighting him and disregarded the Spanish demand for his surrender as

a pirate. He made several subsequent voyages to the Spanish Main.

The Queen encouraged establishment of settlements of colonies in the New World, in regions not settled by the Spanish. *Sir Humphrey Gilbert* began a settlement on the island of Newfoundland. His half-brother *Sir Walter Raleigh* was also interested in settlement. He tried to found a settlement in North America. The colony was named Virginia, in honour of the queen.

During the reign of Elizabeth a body of seamen sprang up who were noted for daring and enterprise. This body of men defended their country in the days of crisis. Their greatest exploit is the defeat of the Armada. The English pirates began to move freely and helped the growth of trade and commerce. Due to these maritime activities the English supremacy over the seas became unquestionable.

After the destruction of the Armada, the maritime enterprise of the English received a further impetus. Spain was no longer to be feared and the English became aggressively more piratical. Besides, several merchant companies were formed. The Levant Company carried on trade with Venice and the Grecian Isles. But the most important was the East India Company which was formed in 1600 for carrying on trade with India and the Spice Islands.

C. CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

1. TUDOR MONARCHY

Analysis

The pre-Tudor pattern of constitution consisting of the king, council and parliament continued in Tudor period.

With the Tudors came the change in spirit and vigour, but not in form.

Tudor kings set up a 'New Monarchy,' or 'Despotism.' Real character of Tudor Despotism.

King's authority used for the development of the nation.

Tudor Despotism is King-worship. It was no Despotism.

Because,—

- (1) King had no standing army.
- (2) Arbitrary actions of kings backed by old statutes and public opinion.
- (3) Parliamentary support in all acts.
- (4) No centralised bureaucracy.

Causes of increase of power of the crown :

- (a) Decay of Nobility.
- (b) King not dependent of people's purse.
- (c) Invention of gunpowder.
- (d) Agencies of authority introduced by the King.
- (e) Rise of middle class.
- (f) The Reformation.
- (g) Measures of Tudor monarch to increase royal authority.

When Henry Tudor ascended the throne of England the old medieval constitution was in existence. There existed the old constitution of the King, the Council and the Parliament. But this constitution now imbibed some change in spirit, though it remained the same in form.

Tudor Despotism

The civil wars necessitated a warrior king ; and as the country received peace and order from him, it bequeathed all powers upon its trusted king. The

country did not like to cut away powers from him or ill equip him with powers, as there was the sovereign need of entrusting powers in the hands of the king who was called upon to deal with a variety of problems. Henry VII, his son Henry VIII, and the latter's son and daughters became the repository of powers conferred upon them by the people and their parliaments. These powers were so overwhelming and all absorbing that they were almost 'despots.' Thus, throughout their period of reign, they carried on an administration which was absolute, imposed arbitrary taxes, passed Acts of Attainders by which people could be beheaded without trial, issued laws by their own proclamations" without reference to each parliament. In fact, they were supreme in matters of legislation, taxation and administration and had the least interference either from the Parliament or from the courts or from the church or from the nobles. The Government was nothing but 'Despotism'.

Nature of Tudor Despotism

But the 'Tudor despotism' was not what it seemed at first sight. From a theoretical point of view it was a misnomer, as the Tudors always kept in view the supreme need of people's welfare; and whatever they did was not without the consent of the Parliament. In other words, the Tudor monarchs established a *popular despotism*, supported by the *willing assent of the nation*. They ruled over a warlike people and yet they *had no standing army*. They were attentive to the movement of public opinion and often yielded gracefully to public demands. They provided England with a strong Government and performed many unlawful acts. But the public allowed them to do so, because the interest of the people and of the monarch was identical in those days.

The Wars of the Roses had shown England what the weakness of the monarchy really meant. The nation was filled with one desire only viz. peace. Peace could be assured by the keeping of good order and order could be secured only by a strong king.

Hence the nation determined to support the Tudor monarchs. The first Tudor monarch Henry VII kept the barons under strict control by means of the statutes of Livery and Maintenance and by the arbitrary Court of the Star Chamber.

In the 16th century France, Spain and Austria had become centralised states under strong monarchs. England was still a small state and it was a dangerous age for a small state. The religious quarrel of the time threatened England with the loss of her independence. The Tudor kings wanted to make England a sovereign state by cutting off all connections with the Pope. The English people too desired the greatness of England. Hence the Tudor monarchs truly interpreted the national will and made England a strong independent nation. It is no wonder that the people of England should support the Tudors in such a troublesome age. The Parliament supported Henry VIII to wage wars in the continent and to sever connections with Rome.

The 16th century was an age of great economic advance. Agriculture was being improved and foreign commerce was developing rapidly. The Tudor kings encouraged trade, commerce and colonisation. The middle class people wanted peace and security in order to carry on their pursuits. The Tudors kept England out of war as much as possible and thus contributed to the national development of England.

When the English people reposed faith in their Tudor kings, they gladly authorised their monarchs to issue 'proclamations' which had the force of law. By usurping the legislative authority of Parliaments, the Tudor monarchs became, in fact, very powerful. They ruled like despots, but they were shrewd enough not to challenge the legal supremacy of parliament. They thus scrupulously observed forms of the constitution. They found it easier to do what they wanted with the help of Parliament and by the form of the constitution, than do away with Parliament. The king was given arbitrary power by the Parliament, which twice cancelled the debts of the king. The Parliament was the legislating,

authorising and creative instrument. Prof. Pollard has shown that the Tudor Parliament was not merely a subservient one. It opposed the monarch whenever he went against the will of the nation. The Tudors strengthened the position of Parliament by bringing the Church under its control. The Parliament obtained rest and recuperation 'under the firm disciplinary administration of the Tudor monarchs and emerged from it braced and invigorated for the struggle which lay before them in the 17th century.' (Marriot).

The Tudors trained the local gentry of England by appointing from among them the justices of the peace for local administration. Thus we see that the Tudors, being entrusted with almost absolute power by the nation, used that power for the development of the nation. Marriot summarises the results of the Tudor rule in the following words: "Aristocratic turbulence was sternly repressed; extraordinary tribunals were erected to deal with powerful offenders; vagrancy was severely punished; work was found for the unemployed; trade was encouraged; the navy was organised on a permanent footing; scientific training in seamanship was provided; excellent secondary schools were established. In a word, the nation became ready to use efficiently the liberties it had won."

Considering the relations that subsisted between the king and the parliament, one historian says that 'the Tudor despotism was 'king worship' resting upon the loyalty of the people and not despotism.' By being subservient to the Monarchy the parliament only registered the wishes of the Tudor monarchs. In a sense, the Tudor monarchy had a Parliamentary support behind. So it was no brazen-faced despotism. The other criteria of despotism were absent here. The Tudors had no standing army. They had only a few hundred yeomen guards. Their most arbitrary actions were filtered through public opinion and self-governing agencies, protected by old statutes. Parliamentary action had increased, instead of dwindling. From parliament Henry VII got power to reverse

attainder, Henry VIII's authority for the surveyors' court. It was certainly not a despotism when Henry VIII insisted that the commons must attend regularly or forfeit their wages. "It was no despotism as the Tudors did not rule with the aid of a centralised bureaucracy." It was in theory a parliamentary government, but in practice a 'benevolent despotism.' It was a mixture of the two, which could hardly be separated, but made possible only by the virtue of necessity.

Causes of increase of the power of the crown

There were a variety of causes which contributed to the setting up of a strong Tudor 'New Monarchy'—a sort of Despotism. The foundations of such a monarchy were laid by Henry VII, who ascended the throne in an *age of transition* when medieval feudalism was giving way before the modern state.

Owing to temporary character of a number of circumstances, the Tudor monarchs were able to gather in their hands a large amount of power.

England had suffered much from the weakness of the executive authority in the Lancastrian period, when the big nobles got a free hand to do whatever they liked. The sufferings of the people culminated in the Wars of the Roses. The whole of England looked eagerly for a strong and vigorous government, which would give them peace and security. The Tudors were supported by the people in the task of building up a strong government. Moreover, the Renaissance and the Reformation directed the energy of the people to the pursuits other than political.

The old nobility, the leaders of the baronial faction, had been cut off during the Wars of the Roses. In the Parliament of 1485 only 29 temporal lords attended, and of these 29 several were created by Henry VII. Henry VIII created a large number of nobles out of the property of the monasteries. But the newly created nobles, far from opposing the royal will, rivalled with one another for receiving royal favour. Thus the Tudors were free from the rivalry of the nobility.

The invention of the gunpowder and the use of efficient artillery, which king alone possessed, made the Tudors very powerful, because they could crush out any rebellion with ease.

One of the main causes of the weakness of the Lancastrian kings had been their poverty. Henry VII unscrupulously exacted money from his subjects and made the monarch independent of the support of the people. Henry VIII, in his turn, accumulated vast sums by the dissolution of monasteries.

From the Roman Law the Tudors got notions of high sovereignty, which was not to be restrained either by the Common law or by the Canon law.

The Privy Council and its judicial committee, like Court of Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, the Council of North and the Council of Wales found in the Roman Law indispensable aids to the suppression of local anarchy.

The clergy, who had formerly mediated between the king and the people, now lost their moral and spiritual influence over the nation. At the beginning of the Tudor period, they clung to royal favour for preserving their power.

Last, though not the least of all, was the Reformation movement, which strengthened the Tudor kings. The church which was a rival to the state throughout the middle ages, was reduced to the position of a department of the state in the Tudor age. "The loss of the church's liberties increased those of the crown and threatened those of the people."

Besides the circumstances that led the Tudors to assume authority from the 'humoured parliaments', individual measures of the Tudor monarchs had gone a long way to establish despotism. The measures of Henry VII in this direction were the establishment of the Court of Star Chamber, ban on the practices of Livery and Maintenance. Henry VIII broke off his connections with the Pope through the Act of Supremacy endorsed by the Parliament. By this the king became supreme head of the church in England.

There was now neither the nobles nor the church to stand against the king. The later Tudors—the children of Henry VIII—acted arbitrarily through the Treason Acts and statutes of Heresies, and the people yielded to all these, as they were kept in peace by putting off wars as late as possible.

2. TUDOR GOVERNMENT

Analysis :

Central Government: Absolute authority of King. Under Henry VIII Privy Council was set up. King's relations with Parliament.

Local Government. Sheriff. Justices of the Peace, Parish.

Courts Systems: Petty sessions. Quarter sessions. Assizes.

Common law courts. Special courts.

The Central Government

The Tudors were almost absolute, but they ruled under constitutional forms. As head of the church, the sovereign received annates, tithes, gifts, and subsidies. He ruled the convocations of the clergy and controlled the courts of the bishops and the Court of High Commission. He received extensive revenues from Crown lands, feudal payments, court fees and fines, and certain customs duties; and sometimes he secured special grants from Parliament. He controlled the appointments to the King's Council, and for its members he selected middle class supporters. His ministers were responsible to the sovereign alone. To him they owed their appointment and if they proved incompetent they were sacrificed.

Under Henry VIII an inner group called the Privy Council began to function, especially in foreign affairs and in the framing of ordinances. It was the chief executive body in the Tudor administration. Under Mary and Elizabeth it assumed supervisory functions and came to have judicial powers. It was a comparatively small committee, not much larger than a modern cabinet, composed of regular officials, who exercised authority on all branches of administration.

The King controlled Parliament, for he dictated the selection of the religious peers in the House of

Lords; and he influenced the temporal peers by favours, new creations of peerages, or appointments to offices. He appointed the Speaker of the Commons, established new boroughs with representatives, had his Councillors introduce laws, and exercised the veto power. Moreover, he summoned and dismissed Parliament at will. That body, however, still possessed an effective weapon in the power to grant or withhold money, and Elizabeth in particular called on it to sanction many of her acts.

Local Government

The old nobility was no longer powerful, but the Squires were still important. The sheriffs kept the peace, while the lords-lieutenant headed the county militia and suppressed insurrections. The justices of the peace presided over local courts, licensed beggars, managed roads and prisons, and enforced the poor laws. The parishes were centres of local control of roads, poor relief, local taxes, and education. The substitution of parish for the earlier vill or manor was a development of the period. In that area the priest and the two church wardens shared responsibility with the constables and other local officials. The counties changed but little in areas from earlier times, but the lord lieutenant appeared first during the reign of Edward VI. Local officials aided the Central Government and were subordinate to it.

The Court System

There were four classes of ordinary courts :

- (1) the Petty Sessions, presided over by two or more justices of the peace, which considered *minor cases* ;
- (2) the Quarter Sessions, which consisted of the justices of the whole country, meeting four times yearly, for *more important cases* ;
- (3) the Assizes, which met at the County Seat, with one or two justices presiding, for *minor crimes* ; and
- (4) the Common Law Courts at Westminster ; the Exchequer, Common Pleas, and King's Bench.

The *special courts*, which had no jury and were dominated by the crown, were :

- (1) Chancery, which considered cases of equity and important civil cases ,
- (2) Court of High Commission, for trying church cases ;
- (3) Court of the North, for north England.
- (4) Council of Wales for Wales ;
- (5) Court of Castle Chamber, for Ireland ; and
- (6) Court of the Star Chamber, to curb the nobles.

The Tudors used martial law liberally, even in times of peace. Under Henry VIII the law defining treason was broadened greatly, and Thomas Cromwell with his spies arrested many persons and accused them of treason. Often the accused were tortured to secure confessions and were not allowed to have counsel or use witnesses. In general, however, the administration of justice was greatly improved over that of previous sovereigns.

3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN TUDOR TIMES

Analysis :

Local Government was efficient in Tudor times through

'Justices of Peace' in Shires and Parishes.

New powers given to J. P's. Administration of Poor Law.

The most lasting constitutional developments under the Tudors were in the sphere of local government. These with little changes endured until well into the nineteenth century.

The Tudor system of local government was cheap but efficient. The ancient communal courts of the shire and hundred as well as the Norman manorial courts had fallen into decay. A new system of local administration grew up in the sixteenth century.

Formerly, the sheriff had been the chief executive officer of Shire. He was deprived of his financial and judicial functions in course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. His command over the local

militia was handed over to the Lord Lieutenant by an Act of Mary Tudor. Thenceforward his functions were to keep prisoners in custody till the arrival of the Justices, to receive the Justices of assize when they entered the county and to make arrangement for holding Parliamentary election.

Justices of the Peace

The chief judicial and administrative functions of the Sheriff and Shire Court were exercised by *Justices of the Peace* in the Tudor period. The office of the justices of the Peace grew out of the post of the Conservators of the Peace created by Edward I. Justices of the Peace were appointed to hear and determine felonies and trespasses and to maintain order in the shire from the time of Edward III. Under the Tudors many new duties were assigned to the Justices.

Tudor England was governed by Privy Council through the Justices of the Peace who were the real rulers of rural England. They were unpaid and therefore independent country gentlemen. They tried small offences and petty cases, kept up roads, bridges and prisons, licensed ale-houses and arrested criminals. It became their work to license the beggars, to force the 'sturdy' to work and to repress vagrants. They regulated wages and prices and relations of master and apprentice. They enforced the Poor Law. The Tudors made Justices of the Peace their man-of-all-work. These multifarious duties were truly and efficiently performed by the Justices of the Peace. The habit of self-government gained ground by the training and discipline of the Justices of the Peace under the Tudor dictatorship.

Parish

The old Anglo-Saxon township was now completely merged in the Parish. The Tudors selected the Parish as the smallest unit of local administration. The duty of relieving the poor was thrown upon the Parish. It was given the care of the Church. Various Acts of Henry VIII enjoined the priest and Church Wardens to make a collection

for the poor. In 1601 Parliament passed the famous Elizabethan Poor Law. This law enacted that overseers of the poor were to be appointed by the Justice of the Peace in each parish with powers to raise money for the housing and feeding of the disabled and deserving poor. They were also to provide work for pauper children and able-bodied men out of work and to erect houses of correction for obstinate vagabonds. 'Maintenance for those who cannot, punishment for those who will not, and work for all who will do it,'—were the principles of this Poor Law.

The towns grew in number and riches in the sixteenth century. But the Constitution of Borough Councils gradually became more oligarchical. The poor burgesses did not take any interest in the affairs of the municipality and the richer burgesses monopolised all power.

4. THE PRIVY COUNCIL

Analysis :

Origin in Medieval England : *Curia Regis* : Ordinary-Council of King.

Tudor Period.

Composition : Lay people of middle class origin.

Businesses of Council : 1. To advise King.
 2. To legislate.
 3. To administrate.
 4. To act as court of justice : Different prerogative courts.

Its origin: During the Tudor period a very important role was played by the Privy Council, originally a medieval institution. The term "Privy Council" came into use during the reign of Henry VI. But its origin can be traced back to the Ordinary Council of the king, which again grew out of the *Curia Regis*.

In the Norman period the *Curia Regis* acted as a deliberative, judicial and administrative body. In the thirteenth century the Courts of Common Law inclusive of Courts of Common Pleas and the King's Bench grew out of it. Then the *Curia* came to mean

more and more the judicial body and it became distinct from the deliberative and the administrative body to which the king looked for advice and help in the daily task of government. Under Edward I the council became a definite body. But the relation of the King's council to the Great Council of the realm remained indefinite. The king legislated, taxed and decided cases both in the parliament and in his council. In the fourteenth century, however, the King's council became definitely distinct from the Parliament. In the Lancastrian period the function of the Council was to 'advise the king upon every exercise of royal power'. The Council had become in fact a governing body. It was composed of nobles and bishops and few Commoners. The Council was often nominated by Parliaments. Sometimes it served as a check on the king, and even acted as his master.

Composition of Council

In the Tudor period of Henry VII the Council was an indeterminate body of shifting membership; as the nobles had declined in importance and the bishops had fallen on evil days, lay people—'scantborn gentlemen'—became members of the Council. Powerful barons were not chosen, but chief Privy Counsellors were only middle class clergy, such as Morton and Fox or lawyers like Empson and Dudley. After the Reformation the lawyer element continued and the clergy became less prominent. In the reign of Elizabeth there grew up a new type of Privy Counsellors, like Cecils, Walsingham and Bacons, who were connected with the trading community. These Privy Counsellors owed their position and influence to the crown, and so it was their intentions to strengthen the position of the monarch.

Businesses of the Council

In the Tudor period the Tudors were their own ministers, and decisions on vital matters especially on questions of foreign policy were taken by the king without consulting the Council at all. Nevertheless the amount of business of the Tudor Council was enormous, and it touched upon a bewildering variety.

In general terms, the functions of the Council were (a) advisory, (b) legislative, (c) executive and (d) judicial. The first of its functions, though not an important one, was *advising* the crown when asked to do so. Its advisory functions were practically superseded by great ministers like Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, Cecil and Walsingham. The Tudor monarchs, however, did not show any inclination that they were bound to consult them. Henry VIII and Elizabeth were their own chief ministers. Maitland has rightly put that "the Council only registered decisions already arrived at by the king."

It was an instrument of legislation and taxation. It exercised jurisdiction of its own and watched over the jurisdiction of others. It managed the Parliament by announcing elections, guiding Parliamentary business and at times manipulating elections.

Legislative functions : The Council as a legislative organ issued proclamations and ordinances. These were issued in order to supplement the existing laws and to create law where none existed. They dealt with topics like customs, army, wages, food, monopolies and even games. These "proclamations" were inferior to statutes or the common law. Legislative programmes were discussed and drafted here in advance of parliamentary sessions. Its members were also members of the House of Commons or House of Lords and moved bills and guided its proceedings just as modern ministers do.

Executive functions : The Council supervised the whole system of government. In fiscal matters, it could impose taxes, but it did not impose any tax which was contrary to the common law. It supervised trade, imposed duties, and granted patents and monopolies. In addition to this, the Council also raised extra-parliamentary revenues by means of forced loans and benevolences.

The Privy Council was also responsible for economic and social regulations. External trade was largely managed by the prerogative powers of the Crown as exercised through the Council. In the

social field the Council did an important work in the way of wielding police powers. It committed suspects to prison without trial. It issued passports and kept a watch on suspected political offenders. It supervised the Councils existing in Wales to maintain law and order. It was also responsible for supervising the Council of North which maintained peace on the border between England and Scotland. It intervened in family quarrels, restored peace between husband and wife, master and servant. As Chambers says, "In fact, nothing was too great and nothing too insignificant to come under the Council's paternal control."

Judicial functions : Perhaps, the most important service of the Council was the maintenance of justice. It came into importance after 1500. One of the sub-committees of the Council was the famous Star Chamber Court. It tried cases of jury, barons and the sheriff. This Court was so powerful in the land that no person was able to overawe it. It was also popular because it protected the weak against the strong and it particularly punished the offending barons. It exercised control over the new business of printing and publication.

The clue for its success lies in the simplification of legal procedure. It dispensed with the rules of evidence as followed in the Courts of Common Law. Persons who were to give evidence were simply brought in for interrogation. So, justice was swift. Of course, in its procedure it employed torture and extorted confessions from the guilty. Yet in those turbulent days it did valuable service. The one advantage of it was that the local courts ceased to be intimidated by the big barons. The juries were afraid of the Star Chamber, and so, they were no longer constrained to give verdicts favouring the powerful nobles. No one could flout the Star Chamber. Similarly, the Council set up Courts in Northern England—"Council of North"—to try cases of riots and disturbances there and "Council of Wales" in Wales. Other Councillor Courts were the Court of High Commission to try cases relating to the Reforma-

tion and the Court of Requests to try cases of the poor. Finally, the Courts of Chancery and Admiralty were also connected with the Council. But the part played by these Prerogative Courts in the Tudor times was neither unpopular nor unnecessary.

Lastly, a very important role was played by the Tudor maids-of-work, the Justices of the Peace, as guided by the Council. They were appointed (on the nominations of Chancellor) and dismissed by the crown. Their chief function was to conform with and carry out the law. During the Tudor period these justices were empowered to order rioters to disperse and also deal with persons who tried to avoid taxes. In addition to these they checked vagabondage, supervised bridges, hospitals, and gaols and also fixed wages. They even assumed the power to order arrest on suspicion. It was through them that the power of the Council percolated to the humblest of the citizen. In the later part of the century Justices' Manuals were issued and these covered every contingency that could arise in country life.

The work of the justices was supervised by the Council. It was through this that the Council's authority starting from the crown reached the humblest citizens in the country. Bindoff says, "It was the 20 or 30 men sitting at the helm of affairs in Council or Star Chamber, and six or seven hundred J.Ps. covering the country in petty and quarter sessions, who were at their respective levels, the chief agents of royal power in early Tudor State. They belonged to the continuously working party of the governmental machine. By contrast parliament was an institution which functioned and indeed existed only intermittently."

From the above it is evident that the Privy Council exercised enormous powers of the most various kinds. The central government was now strong enough to rule without the help of local lords. The powers of the council increased to large proportions. Side by side the composition of the council

gradually became confined to people of middle class, and not 'men of ancient lineage', bound to a unity by connections of inter-marriage. Consequently, these privy councillors, hailed from middle class, were dependent upon the crown, and it was to the interest of the crown that the kingly powers were enlarged. In a special sense therefore the Tudor period became a period of government by Council or the 'golden age of the Council.'

5. PARLIAMENT IN TUDOR TIMES

Analysis :

King

House of Lords :

(1) All lay peers, of whatever title.

(2) Archbishops, bishops, and mitred abbots and priors,

House of Commons.

(1) Two knights from every country.

(2) Two citizens from every city.

(3) Two burgesses from every borough that was represented.

The common people were not represented. Only landowners in Counties and wealthy townsmen in towns had a vote at an election.

Functions of Parliament .

(1) To make laws, or changes in existing law.

(2) To levy taxes or make changes in existing taxes.

(3) To impeach a minister whose rule was unjust.

Parliament did not rule the country. It was the right and duty of the king.

New taxes and new laws were rarely required. There was no need for the regular meeting of Parliament. It was called when the king wished. There were sometimes long periods without a meeting of Parliament.

Henry VII.

Called Parliament rarely.

Henry VIII.

At first called Parliament every year (1509—14).

During Wolsey's period (1514—29) it met only once. Called to grant the king a large sum of money. Granted a smaller sum. Wolsey preferred to rule with the aid of the Council and the Star Chamber.

The Reformation Parliament (1529—36). Passed the Acts necessary for the separation of the Church of England

from the Church of Rome, and for the establishment of the king as Head of the Church.

Parliament twice cancelled Henry's debts, and gave his proclamations the force of law.

No abbots or priors in the House of Lords after the dissolution of the monasteries.

Elizabeth.

Summoned Parliaments from time to time, for short meetings. Not quite so submissive as Parliaments of Henry VIII. Queen avoided, as far as possible, asking Parliament for grants of money.

Parliament readily passed the laws relating to the religious settlements and those needed after 1570 in reply to the papal sentence of excommunication and deposition:

Friction between Parliament and the Queen on

(1) The question of her marriage.

(2) Certain religious matters.

(3) The monopoly question, on which the Queen gave way.

Parliament came into existence in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the time of the first three Edwards. In the later Middle Ages it exercised a good deal of authority. Parliament was an institution with constant growth of powers. A century before the advent of the Tudors, Parliament had acquired sovereign powers. It had asserted that the king should not levy any arbitrary tax without its consent and that laws were to be passed by the king on the advice and consent of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. But in the melee of events of the Wars of Roses the prestige of parliament, a little before 1485, touched its lowest ebb. In the Lancastrian period it failed to maintain law and order. The House of Lords was enfeebled all through the medieval ages because of the Wars of the Roses. Even the principle governing the election of representatives to the House of Commons was archaic. By an Act of 1430 franchise was restricted to the freeholders. Inevitably, a narrow oligarchy ruled the country. In the boroughs there was every variety of qualification for the electorate. Further, the Privy Council was more important than the parliament.

The work of the Tudor Council itself was legislative as well as administrative and judicial. The chief business of a Tudor parliament was legislation ; but the statesmen could not perceive its position then. Then it was nobly considered as a "High Court of Parliament." The conception of Parliament as a Court continued till the Civil Wars of the 17th century.

Strangely enough the representatives of parliaments were the least enthusiastic about its functions and privileges. Quite often, violent methods were employed to bring the members to Westminster. But by the end of the period the situation was changed.

Composition

The nature of parliament changed by the end of the period because its composition changed. Parliament consisted of king, House of Lords and House of Commons. The House of Lords included all the nobles of the realm together with the archbishops and bishops of the church and abbots and priors of important monasteries. The House of Commons represented the people. Every county sent two knights to it, every city two citizens and every borough of importance two burgesses.

In the election of these members everybody was not a voter. In the counties only the landowners voted and in the towns only the most important townsmen had a voice in election.

During the Tudor period the number of members in the Houses of Lords and Commons varied. The Composition of the Houses did not change greatly, although the members steadily increased.

The Tudor monarchs gave representation to new countries and boroughs. Henry VIII increased the county representation from 74 to 90 and the borough representation from an uncertain number to 253. Edward added 30, Mary 27 and Elizabeth 59 borough members to Parliament. In all during the Tudor period no fewer than 166 members were added to the House of Commons, raising its members from 296 to

462. But it cannot be said that the Tudors created new boroughs only to influence the decision of Parliament. The sixteenth century was an age of rapid economic development and the House of Commons was acquiring power and prestige in that age. Many towns petitioned for representation and the popular Tudor monarchs granted their prayer. Creation of boroughs in the royal Duchy of Cornwall might be attributed to corrupt motives of the Tudor monarchs, but no exception could be taken to the representation of Counties of Wales, Chester and Monmouth and to boroughs like Westminster, Liverpool and Lancaster.

The composition of the House of Lords was also greatly influenced by the Tudor monarchs. After the dissolution of the monasteries in 1540 the twenty-eight abbots who had been members of the House of Lords disappeared. The number of spiritual Lords fell to 26 in 1550, while the number of lay peers fluctuated round 50. Thus the spiritual peers became a minority in the House of Lords. Most of the lay lords owed their position and fortune to the Tudor monarchs, and so did not dare to oppose the policy of the king.

Tudors' Relation with Parliament

The Tudors fostered a powerful Monarchy, nay near-despotism ; but this did not mean that they had over-ruled Parliament. On the contrary, their policy was to rule with the support of a subservient parliament. About the relationship that subsisted between the Tudors and their parliaments the constitutional historians are divided in their opinions. They however maintain that the *form* of the constitution was maintained by the Tudors, but in their description about the *spirit* of the functions of Parliament they differ.

Stubbs, Hallam and Maitland are of opinion that the Tudors were despots and so packed the House of Commons which showed a subservient obedience to the monarch. Their independence had evaporated. The ecclesiastical bills were passed without a protest.

The Journals recorded no protest or opposition ; the king had his own way in everything. But Gniest and Pollard are of opinion that the Tudors were really constitutional rulers. They not only adhered scrupulously to the form and spirit of the Constitution, but also advanced the powers and privileges of Parliament. They never sought to over-ride legality and authority of Parliament.

Parliament under Henry VII : Under Henry VII (1485-1497), there were ten sessions with an average duration of six weeks, but the remainder of his reign saw only one session. The reasons for this negligence were many—financial independence of the crown, no emergencies of the state, and the reluctance of Henry VII to take anybody into his confidence. Generally, parliament did no more than what he asked them to do. They passed the bills that he wanted them to do, but he was entirely left free to finish the job as he liked. Even then, his parliaments passed considerable legislation—legalized the succession of Henry VII, passed protectionist statutes, passed acts against enclosures and passed acts regulating weights and measures. Quantitatively the work increased but qualitatively the role of parliament was not much different from the Lancastrian period.

Parliament under Henry VIII : During the first twenty years of Henry VIII's reign the affairs of the realm were managed by Wolsey. Wolsey was not in favour of rule through Parliaments. At one time he tried to brow-beat parliament for a property tax of 20% but it was firmly refused. And parliament came to the forefront from the time of the Reformation onwards when Thomas Cromwell was Henry's minister. The Reformation Parliament passed 137 statutes, out of which 32 were directly concerned with the religious issue. In performing this task, it was guided by the Privy Council. Several of these councillors took their seats in the House of Commons. Added to this, Thomas Cromwell took active interest in the drafting, the guiding and the

compiling of the bills relating to the Reformation. This training resulted in a better formulation and definition of the procedure and the privileges of Parliament. Then, these processes were further helped by the systematic recording of its business in the Journal of the House of Commons starting from 1547. This journal enabled the Parliamentarians to talk about precedents in the Stuart era.

The relationship between the king and Parliament was very harmonious. Pollard writes, "there was complete freedom of speech in Parliament in Henry's reign. The principle was formally admitted in 1512 in Strode's case". In 1543 the king acknowledged that this dignity was never so high as during the time Parliament was sitting. While confirming the valuable privilege of *freedom from arrest* in 1548 the king said, "We be informed by our Judges that we at no time stand so high in our estate royal as in the time of Parliament, when we as head and you as members are conjoined and knit together in one body politic." On this Pollard comments "Herein he was adumbrating the sound constitutional theory that the king in Parliament is the real sovereign."

In general, Henry never treated the members in a condescending manner. During the course of the Reformation he even told the members of Parliament that eight learned societies favoured his divorce and this matter should be reported throughout the country. And the relations between the two were so cordial that Parliament redeemed his debts in 1529 and 1545. The causes for this harmony were many: the interests of both coincided (anti-clerical feeling and cupidity for wealth). Henry adopted various means to secure subservience (interference with the elections, creation of new boroughs, bribery and corruption and the intimidation of both the houses of Parliament) and the tact of the king. But Pollard does not agree with the contention that Henry made use of the methods enumerated here. He says that there was occasional interference but all the members of the Parliament

were certainly not royal nominees. To quote him, "Of bribery employed by the Crown to corrupt Parliament there is scarcely a trace in Tudor times, except in so far as the dissolution of the monasteries was a gigantic bribe. Henry VIII was too lordly, Elizabeth too parsimonious, to lavish bribes on individual members of Parliament."

Parliament under Edward VI : The next reign chronologically is that of *Edward VI*. Here it may be noted that he created 48 new boroughs during the short period of his reign in comparison with the 21 created during Mary's time, and the 60 during the 45 years' reign of Queen Elizabeth. The activities of Parliament were a good many. Everything that the state did in his reign was carried out by Parliament. By its enactments it gave positive encouragement to agriculture, as for example, legalizing the enclosures of lands. Interestingly, at one time it yielded to the public opinion. A Subsidy Act was repealed after a vigorous lobbying of the clothiers and the sheep-masters.

Parliament under Mary : In the reign of the next sovereign, Mary, Parliament was more bold. It bluntly refused to restore the land of the church, although it passed the heresy legislation, accepted the papal legate, assented to the marriage of the queen, declared the divorce of Catharine annulled, and repealed the whole legislation of Edward VI.

Parliament under Elizabeth : Coming to the time of Elizabeth, we notice that all was not well, particularly during the last years of her reign. But when we broadly view the situation, the Elizabethan parliaments were not powerful enough to resist the queen. She ruled like a despot, caring little for Parliament. She freely exercised all the powers of the royal prerogative. Yet Elizabeth was no despot. She had the approval of the nation behind her. She could issue proclamations in the Privy Council without Parliament's sanction. In financial matters she was dependent on them only for the extraordinary revenues, and the ordinary revenue was derived from

sources beyond its control. The Parliament itself was conservative in character. The privy councillors in it assumed informal leadership. Theoretically the *speaker* was the freely elected spokesman of the commons but in practice he was nominated by the Privy Councillors. The summoning and dissolution of Parliament and the validity of the measures passed depended on the queen. Finally, Parliament enjoyed certain privileges theoretically—freedom of speech, freedom from arrest etc. In practice the queen restricted the freedom of speech by forbidding them to discuss her marriage and in 1593 she defined the privilege of speech thus: "not to speak every one what he listeth or what cometh into his brain to utter. Your privilege is Aye or No."

Yet, by the end of her reign Parliament became more assertive because of many reasons. The country members trained in the New Learning grew in importance since they were enriched by the spoils of the monasteries. The borough members also grew independent because of growing trade. And these new interests were aligned with the increasing number of Puritans in Parliament. So the composition underwent a great change. For example, the lawyers became the vowels of Parliament. Finally, the victory of England in 1588 gave enough time for considering the domestic problems. Parliament shed its fear of Catholic domination by Philip II.

Therefore the relations between the queen and Parliament were far from smooth. It was not wholly subservient to her.

In actual history, the first Parliament was not prepared to carry out the religious settlement of Elizabeth. Luckily the protestant radicals of the lower house made their running. All through her reign Parliament was preoccupied fully with great issues like religion and trade, the queen's marriage and the Spanish War. There were 13 sessions in her reign consisting of a total of 140 weeks during the 45 years of her rule. It also legislated upon economic matters—prohibited many imports and passed the Statute of

Artificers and the Poor Law Act. In 1575 it ordered the release of the servant of a member according to its privilege of freedom from arrest. In 1585 it expelled a member. And at one time it punished the borough of Westbury for employing bribery at elections.

During the later part of her reign, the relations were strained. She treated the members like spoilt children. She even arrested Peter Wentworth. Even then she pretended that the punishment was not for any words said in the House of Commons. She often scolded them for their interest in her marriage. She denounced them as audacious, arrogant and presumptuous. But parliamentarians were not always passive. In 1601, Sergeant Hele stated that the queen had a right to the lands and goods of her subjects. Then the members of parliament hummed, laughed and talked. Sergeant Hele was made to sit down by this behaviour of the members. At another time, the speaker Wentworth, said, "We will pass nothing before we understand what it is." This shows that all was not well with the relations between the two. Pollard caustically comments, "In the later years of her reign, there is little to choose between her relations with Parliament and James I's, except that she could yield on occasion with grace, while James could not; and on its side Parliament, as it told James I, forbore much in consideration of the queen's age and sex; it did not feel quite equal to the taming of the shrew." To enumerate more points, it should be noted that in 1598, she refused her assent to 10 bills; and in another year, 48 bills out of the 91 introduced by parliament were vetoed by her. The nation did not like her power of vetoing bills, and frictions became more frequent. But in spite of these strained relations, the queen was able to manage well with parliament. In 1601, on the issue of monopolies the queen yielded. She knew how and when to yield gracefully before a united demand of nation. Trevelyan writes. "Honourable members wept for joy, and in that melting mood were summoned to the

Whitehall by their mother and mistresses who told them what had indeed been the secret of her long reign now drawing to a close: "Though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my Crown, that I have reigned with your loves."

Power of Parliament in Tudor Age

In their dealings with Parliament the Tudor monarchs showed their characteristic wit and tactfulness. They did not openly dispute the right of Parliament to *control levy of taxes*. But in fact they raised money by having recourse to various subterfuges. Thus Henry VII filled his exchequer by imposition of fines and benevolences or forced loans and free gifts from rich men. Henry VIII's debts were repudiated by Parliament. Wolsey demanded a large sum from Parliament in 1523, but got only a smaller sum. In 1525 when he tried to raise an unparliamentary tax, the people threatened a revolt and it was withdrawn. Elizabeth took forced loans but repaid the principal sum without any interest. In matters of indirect taxation the Tudors were less scrupulous. The lawyers held that the monarch had a *right to impose* taxes on important goods for regulating trade. Mary imposed taxes on foreign cloth and Elizabeth on sweet wines. Elizabeth used to grant monopolies to her favourites. But when the parliament opposed it, she gracefully yielded to their demand.

The Tudors were shrewd enough not to question the formal supremacy of Parliament in matters of legislation, but by means of veto power and by the use of royal prerogative of initiating bills in Parliament, they exercised a good deal of *legislative authority*. The Parliament however exercised its authority at times. From the letter of Secretary Peter it is clear that the Tudors could not always induce the House of Commons to do whatever they liked. In the reign of Edward VI Protector Somerset failed to carry democratic agrarian legislation through the Houses.

The Tudor monarchs did not generally revoke or over-ride a statute passed by Parliament; but they exercised a certain power of adding to the law of the

land by issuing ordinances or proclamations from the Privy Council. By an Act of 1539 power was given to the king in Council to make proclamations, which should have the force of statutes; the punishment for disobedience might be fine or unlimited imprisonment but it was not to extend to life, limb or forfeiture. This statute was, however, repealed in the reign of Edward VI. Mary Tudor issued a proclamation threatening with summary execution of all persons found to have heretical or seditious books in their possession, Elizabeth freely issued proclamations. She prohibited by proclamations the exportation of corn, money and various other commodities and restricted the importation of books and regulated their sale. She made stringent laws against the use of printing trade by an ordinance.

In the Tudor period the king was the head of the administration. Parliament could not control ministers of the Crown. But the Tudors often sacrificed the ministers, who became unpopular with the people. Thus Henry VIII successively sacrificed Empson, Dudley, Wolsey and Cromwell. The Tudor monarchs had an instinctive knowledge of the feeling of the nation and in all their arbitrary action they respected that feeling.

Growth in the Tudor Age

"During 120 years spanned by the Tudor dynasty," says Taswell Langmead, "the Constitutional historian has scarcely any general progress of free principles, any important measure of improvement to record". But Prof. Pollard amply demonstrates that Parliament gained in power during the Tudor period. He says, "The proceedings of the House of Commons had never appeared on the rolls of Parliaments, but in or soon after 1547 :

- (a) It began to keep journals of its own.
- (b) The eldest sons of peers thought it becoming to seek election; magnates bought up boroughs to provide themselves or their friends with seats, and were besieged with applications for their influence. Candidates began to pay, instead of being paid, for election.

(c) Boroughs which had let their representation fall into abeyance sought for its restoration, and those which had never had writs began to seek them. Parliament was providing a career, and in Elizabeth's reign we hear for the first time of some one being a "great parliament man," who was not a member of the Privy Council.

The growth of the House of Commons was reflected in the expansion of its members, the increase of popular interest in elections, in the proceedings of the House and in the development of its privileges and powers."

It was the Parliament which had brought extensive changes in the religion of the country. From this period onwards Parliament began to regulate Church affairs. Parliament set up courts and passed Acts to accommodate Henry VIII in all his personal affairs of divorce and marriage and the destruction of objectionable wives. The exercise of these powers would be drawn as precedent in future. Moreover, there stands to the credit of Tudor Parliament a great mass of legislation on a wide variety of topics—social, commercial and ecclesiastical. During the heyday of Tudor despotism the highest authority in the land was recognised to lie in the "King in parliament", and not the Crown alone.

Privileges of Parliament

The Parliament grew in powers. There was little friction between the king and the parliament. In fact, their interests were often identical. Thus parliament made the king very powerful, and the king, in order to function effectively, heaped powers on parliament. The two authorities became identified. It is for this reason that some of the historians have called the Tudor kings as constitutional monarchs.

In their mutual dealings of trust and confidence, the parliament had evolved a few well-defined privileges. The Tudor monarchs had dealt tactfully with the delicate questions of privileges. It was claimed that *freedom of speech* was inherent in the constitu-

tion of parliament, as a free legislature undoubtedly presupposed this essential privilege. *The Strode's Case* is in point. Strode, a member of the House of Commons, was imprisoned by the Stannery Courts for having introduced a Bill to regulate the privilege of tin miners. Strode was released by Writ of Privilege in 1512 and an Act was passed declaring in a general way that any proceedings against any member for any speaking in Parliament should be utterly 'void and of none effect'. In furtherance of this privilege thirty years later in 1541 the Commons established the practice of claiming from the king 'the freedom of Speech at the commencement of each parliament. In 1529 Henry VIII wrote to the Pope that 'the discussions in English parliament are free and unrestrained; the Crown has no power to limit their debates or to control the votes of their members.

Another privilege, viz the *freedom from arrest* was gradually hardened during this period. The members of parliament not only claimed that they were not to be arrested for words spoken in Parliament but also claimed a general immunity from the ordinary law. In 1543 George Ferrers, an M. P. was arrested as a surety for the debt of another by process of the king's Bench. He was released by the Sergeant at Arms, acting under the authority of the House, which committed to prison all those concerned in the arrest. The Commons had refused to release Ferrers by a Writ of Privilege offered them by the Lord Chancellor, and effected the release by the authority of the Mace of the Speaker of the House of Commons. Thus the Commons established their rights—

- (a) to demand the delivery of a member, and
- (b) to commit others to prison.

In 1575 Smalley, a member's servant was arrested for debt but was set at liberty by the Sergeant of the House. There were similar other cases also during the reign of Elizabeth when privileged persons were released by the Sergeant under warrant of the mace and not the writ.

The questions of *privilege of discussions* in the Parliament were raised during the later years of Elizabeth. The members wanted to discuss settlement of religion and queen's marriage or succession to the throne. Strickland was punished for introducing bills for ecclesiastical reforms, but she was remonstrated by the House. Again she punished Coke and Peter Wentworth who demanded that a member might discuss points of grievance freely and without danger. The House was sore on these points.

6. FREE SPEECH IN ELIZABETHAN PARLIAMENTS —ITS SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS.

Freedom of Speech essential in Parliament

It is true that the privilege of freedom of speech is essential to the independence of Parliament and to its authority over legislation. This privilege means three things—freedom to speak anything that can be expressed only in Parliamentary terms, to bring criticism to bear upon the Government without being called to answer for it except by Parliament itself and also freedom of deliberation upon any subject.

Tudor kings and Parliament

During the first two Tudor monarchs the relations between the Parliament and the Tudor kings were cooperative. It remained so upto the first part of Elizabeth's reign. But by the end of her reign Parliament became more assertive because of many reasons. The country members trained in the New Learning grew in importance since they were enriched by the spoils of the monasteries. The composition of the Parliament underwent a great change. The lawyers became the vowels of Parliament. Moreover, the victory of England in 1588 gave enough time for considering the domestic problems. Parliament shed its fear of Catholic domination by Philip II. So the relations between the queen and the Parliament were far from smooth. It was not wholly subservient to her. Moreover, the scope of free speech was not at all clearly defined; hence Elizabeth's reign saw

constant dispute on distinctions between liberty and license.

During the reign of Elizabeth I the people were very much obsessed with the questions of the queen's marriage and succession after her. They were led to be anxious when the queen showed no intentions to marry and also because they had sad experiences from the marriage of Mary Tudor with Philip II. So they raised questions of queen's marriage and succession in parliaments and petitioned her to marry and permit the nomination of a successor.

The queen took exception to the request of marriage, as it clearly invaded the queen's private life and was therefore improper. The second part of the request could be based on the precedents of Henry VIII's reign when parliament several times declared the succession. Elizabeth had a tolerable case in constitutional law for refusing to allow the matter to be treated in the house. Her real reasons were, of course, different and born of deep political wisdom.

Parliament of 1559

When Parliament met at the end of Jan. 1559, the House of Commons urged this step on her. She answered that since reaching years of understanding she had chosen to remain virginal and if ambition, or danger or the peril of death could have led her into marriage she would not now be in that trade of life with which she was thoroughly acquainted and in which God had preserved her. They could assure themselves, she went on, that whenever it might please God to incline her heart to marry, her choice would light upon one who would be as careful for the preservation of the realm as she herself. If ever she married she remarked a few years later it would be as a queen and not as Elizabeth. She would only do from stern necessity. [From thenceforth she restricted the common's freedom of speech regarding her marriage and in 1593 she defined the privilege of speech "not to speak everyone what he listeth or what cometh into his brain to utter. Your privilege is Aye

or No." Peter Wentworth, the undaunted member of the commons who demanded that a member might discuss points of grievances freely and without danger laid down his life in the Tower of London—the first martyr to the cause of Parliamentary liberty of freedom of speech.]

Parliament of 1562

Sometimes in 1562. when Elizabeth had fallen dangerously ill of small pox the succession question naturally flared into prominence. In Jan. 1563, under the shadow of this fear, the second parliament met. A committee was appointed to draw up a petition to the queen and the Lords were approached. It contained a request to Elizabeth to marry. They were afraid if England were left to be disputed among rival claimants at her death. Elizabeth answered the petition in a brief choice and relatively simple speech urging them not to think that she who in other matters had such care of them all, would be careless in this, which concerned both her own and their safety. They at worst could lose their bodies, whereas she hazarded to lose both body and soul if her policy proved disastrous. A few days later the Lords came with their petition giving greater attention to the question of queen's marriage. But Elizabeth was annoyed with them. She could understand the House of Commons where, as she put it, there were "restless heads in whose brains the needless hammers beat with vain judgment". From the Lords she expected more farsighted action than to join the Commons, leaving their queen isolated. If she declared a successor, she warned them, it would cost much blood to England.

Fretfully the commons waited for the answer. Someone had suggested that they should hold up supplies until the succession was settled, but the temper and courage of the majority did not rise so high. Perhaps it would have been different if they had only realised that Elizabeth was determined to put off her reply until the money bill was safely passed through

and then dismiss Parliament with one of her "answers—answerless" Parliament was prorogued until in dire financial need Elizabeth was compelled to summon it.

Parliament of 1566

In Oct. 1566 Parliament met to face the same situation as in 1563—an unmarried queen and an unsettled succession. The Commons in 1566 came back with the sense that they had been fooled three years before. So when a member of the Parliament suggested that they should go on with their petition, consisting of marriage and succession, Elizabeth promptly forbade further discussion of the question. Thereupon Paul Wentworth launched the House on a discussion of its privileges. The councillors in the House urged Elizabeth to give way and allow the Commons free discussion, but she would not. Instead she sent for the speaker before they met again and conveyed through him a peremptory and threatening veto. No business was done that day and the House soon had another Committee at work drawing up an address to the queen on the three great questions—her marriage, the succession and the privilege.

All this while the money bill lay asleep Elizabeth and the Commons were at deadlock. But the queen knew both when and how to give way. She sent a message lifting her former vetoes on free discussion and followed it up three days later with an announcement that she remitted a third of the money, they intended to grant her, preferring to hear of their faithful minds and dutiful actions. In their joy they agreed among themselves to drop the obnoxious subject of the succession and revived the money bill.

In the sphere of religion Elizabeth asserted her ecclesiastical supremacy. In 1571 Mr. Strickland introduced a bill for the reform of the Prayer Book. The queen saw that it was an invasion on her prerogative. He was punished by suspension from the Parliament for introducing the bill for ecclesiastical reforms.

This raised a storm. But Mr. Yelverton's eloquent speech in defence of the right of the commons to initiate discussion on any topic resulted in the restoration of Mr. Strickland in the House on the very next day. The queen realised her mistake and revoked her orders timely.

Parliament of 1571

In 1571 the Parliament was summoned. With such stalwarts as Master Norton, the parliament man, Strickland, Fleetwood and Martyr Peter Wentworth, the puritan faction in the parliament was very strong. This time the question of queen's marriage barley evoked an echo, as Elizabeth was in her forties now. So there was no point in asking her to marry. Still a reference was made to the matter. She again stressed her inclination to be single in the interests of the country.

Hereafter other issues were discussed in the parliaments of 1571, 1572 (prorogued to 1576 and again to 1581), 1584-85, 1586-7. By and large, all the conflicts of these years fall into one of two constitutional categories—those concerned with the privilege of freedom of speech and its application and those illustrating the growing self-consciousness of the house.

Parliament of 1576

In 1576 when the house reassembled, Wentworth opened an oration on freedom of speech. He complained that free speech was being infringed upon. He argued that the commons were in duty bound freely to discuss all matters affecting God's honour and everything "commodious, profitable, or in any way beneficial for the prince or state"—that is, those points of ecclesiastical legislation and affairs of which Elizabeth determinedly reserved for the prerogative. Else the parliament were no parliament. Wentworth was stopped and committed to the sergeant-at-arms, then he was sent to the Tower.

Parliament of 1586-7

In the parliament of 1586-7 Wentworth revived the agitation for free speech. He got his opportunity when Cope introduced his "bill and book"—a bill for

the repeal of the Prayer Book and its replacement by the puritan book of discipline and worship. The queen ordered the Speaker to render up both book and bill, which he did. Thereupon Wentworth submitted ten articles before the house. In them he asked—(a) whether parliament was not necessary for the existence of the state as the only maker and abrogator of laws, and (b) whether free speech was not granted by law since parliament could not operate without it. For the pungent language of the document Wentworth spent another spell in the Tower under orders of the queen. The ten articles were Wentworth's last word on privilege.

By the 1590's the queen had grown old and the question of the marriage and succession had lost its edge. So Wentworth discovered that his day was past. The real problem then was money. War expenditure demanded a constant and heavy burden of taxation. In fact the demands of 1593 roused serious opposition.

To the credit of Wentworth it may be said that he had raised the issue of free speech to the high pinnacle of principle which it deserved, he had begun the deliberate organisation of opposition; and he had lived and died for his belief in a manner which makes him a fit fore-runner of the 17th century parliamentarians like Eliot and Pym.

Parliament of 1593

In 1593 when Mr. Morrice brought in two bills for the reform of the ecclesiastical Courts, he was sent to the Tower. On this occasion, the queen sent a message to the House "that no bill touching the same matter of reformation in causes ecclesiastical be exhibited" and commanded the speaker upon his allegiance "if any such bill be exhibited not to read it."

In the last Parliament of Elizabeth (1601) in the debate on Monopolies, Francis Bacon claimed for the crown extensive powers and advised the Commons to proceed by petition instead of by a bill.

But the grievance was so seriously felt that the Commons persisted in their conduct and would not be satisfied with anything less than a statute. Their bold attitude compelled the queen to surrender.

Another privilege—the freedom from arrest was gradually hardened during this period. The members of Parliament not only claimed that they were not to be arrested for words spoken in Parliament but also claimed a general immunity from the ordinary law. In 1543, George Ferrers, an M. P. was arrested as a surety for the debt of another by process of the king's Bench. He was released by the Sergeant-at-Arms, acting under the authority of the House, which committed to prison all those concerned in the arrest. The Commons had refused to release Ferrers by a Writ of Privilege offered them by the Lord Chancellors and effected the release by the authority of the Mace of the speaker of the House of Commons. Thus the commons established their rights—to demand the delivery of a member and to commit others to prison.

It is true that during the last years of Elizabeth's reign the members of the House of Commons assumed a new spirit of independence and assertiveness regarding their rights and privileges.

1. ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATIONS*Analysis :**James I*

Became king of England and Scotland in 1603. Promise of Union.

The king desired Union of two countries from personal Union.

King assumed title of 'King of Great Britain.' People of England disliked Union.

His policy of 'peaceful union' and introduction of bishops in Scottish Church.

Charles I :

Visited Scotland, Took measures—

- (1) To increase number and power of Scottish bishops.
- (2) To introduce orderliness in religious forms.
- (3) To use Prayer Book.

General Assembly opposed.

Scottish invasions

First, 1640.—invasion of Northumberland and Durham. Bishops' Wars.

Second, 1643-44.—Solemn League and Covenant. King surrendered to Scots.

Third, 1648—the Engagement. Scots fought for King.

Commonwealth .

Scots accepted Charles II as King, crowned at Scone.

Fourth, 1654—invasion of England, while Cromwell invaded Scotland. Scotland part of Commonwealth. Monk's Governorship. Scotland united to England.

Charles II and James II : Union with England ceased.

Revolution Settlement :

Scots accepted William and Mary as sovereigns

Darien Scheme. Failure. Bitter feeling against England.
Threat of Separation. Scottish Act of Security. Negotiations for Union.

Act of Union, 1707 : Terms. Results. Advantages to England and Scotland. An achievement of Statesmanship.

Two countries in Stuart Period

The Stuart period opens with a promise for happy union between the two countries, England and Scotland. In 1603 James VI of Scotland became king of England as James I. The two crowns of England and Scotland were united thereby.

But it was only the personal union of the two countries and did not involve the union of the two countries. The dislike of the two nations did not die down, though there were tendencies in the two countries to come nearer to each other through economic and cultural ties. The Scots feared that they might pass under English rule, and that they would have to learn English ways and obey English laws, on the contrary, Englishmen did not like to see the many Scots who were coming with the new king to England and they hated the idea of England being ruled by their old enemies.

James I's Period

James was, however, wiser than his subjects, and he tried to unite both the countries politically into one. He took the title of King of Great Britain and ordered that the flag of England (cross of St. George) should be combined with the flag of Scotland (cross of St. Andrew) to form a flag of Great Britain. But the prejudice of the English merchants and the short-sightedness of parliament neutralized the move.

The policy behind this move of James I was more realistic and statesmanlike. He realised that the interests of the two countries were largely identical. They were both confined within the limits of the same islands; and both had, in varying degree, embraced the Reformation. If they could overcome their mutual dislike and hatred they might become a great power. He further took into consideration the more wealthier, more populous and more important position of England and wished that Scotland should

be developed on English model. His next move was to bring about the *Union of the Churches of England and Scotland*. The Scottish Church was Presbyterian and that of England was Episcopalian. In 1610 he took a definite step forward when he re-established bishops in the Scottish Church.

Period of Charles I

Charles I went a step farther. He visited Scotland in company with Archbishop Laud. He extended the power of the bishops of the Church of Scotland and increased their number. He noticed that 'there was no religion', as the bishops did not wear surplices and ordered them to wear dress. Laud made arrangements for the issue of a Prayer Book for use in Scotland.

These measures provoked protest and opposition. A General Assembly at Glasgow held in 1638, rejected the bishops and Prayer Book. It was further confirmed by another General Assembly at Edinburgh in 1640. There ensued Bishops' War. England was invaded. The king's attempt to force his Scottish subjects to obedience ended in fiasco. In 1641 Charles visited Scotland and withdrew his troops, leaving the government in the hands of nobles.

Scottish Invasion in 1640-49

Between 1640 and 1651 Scottish armies invaded England several times. First, in 1640 the Scots overran Northumberland and Durham and extorted a promise from the king that the Church should remain Presbyterian. Second, in 1643 the Scots entered into a Solemn League and Covenant with the English Parliament, agreeing to fight against the king in return for the English promise to *establish Presbyterianism in England*. In 1644, a Scottish army invaded England and Charles I was made a prisoner and given over to Parliament. Third, the Scots invaded England in 1648, this time to fight for the king, when the latter promised in the 'Engagement' to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years. The Scots were defeated and driven out by Cromwell.

Commonwealth Period

After the death of Charles I the Scots accepted Charles II as their king. He was crowned at Scone. He even attempted to make a bid for the English Crown. At this Cromwell invaded Scotland in 1651. But though the Scots were defeated at Dunbar, they invaded England for the fourth time and were worsted at Worcester. The Presbyterian government was overthrown. Scotland became part of the Commonwealth under Monk's governorship. An army was left in Scotland to prevent any rising. It was a great feat of Cromwell. Previously the Scots were often defeated in the past but they were never completely conquered. Under Cromwell Scotland was not only conquered, but united to England.

From 1651 till 1660 Scotland was part of the Commonwealth. The early Stuart kings had hoped for a more peaceful union, but failed. But Cromwell succeeded, though temporarily ; and there were reasons for it. Garrison fortresses kept down Scotland. It was necessary for a resisting country. But Scottish religious freedom was respected, and no persecution of Covenanters was attempted. The Scots prospered materially through their connection with England. Scots enjoyed benefits of the Navigation Act and were permitted to trade with English Colonies. Moreover, thirty Scottish members went to Parliament at Westminster. Thus was formed a nucleus of party which desired to perpetuate union.

Post-Restoration Period

When Charles II was restored, the parliamentary union was annulled, all laws rescinded and the union of the two kingdoms came to an end. Scotland became a foreign country under the Navigation Act of 1660, and Scottish commerce declined. The Scottish Church became episcopal again, and the Covenanters were persecuted. Once again the Anglo-Scottish relations passed through troublesome times.

Revolution of 1689 in Scotland

The Revolution brought only some partial relief to Scotland. The Scots like the English offered the crown of Scotland to William and Mary. Some of the

Highlanders rose for James, but were quelled down. William accepted the stipulation of the convention that the Church of Scotland should henceforth be Presbyterian. The religious question, which was at the bed-rock of Scottish politics, was solved at last.

Darien Scheme

But the Scots had failed to get a settlement of their commercial disadvantages. For example, the navigation acts excluded the Scots from the colonial markets. An attempt of the Scots to found a Scottish East India Company in the reign of William III failed owing to English opposition. Even they were not allowed to found a colony of their own. In 1699 the *Darien Scheme* was launched to found a Scottish colony on the isthmus of Darien in Spanish America. William III was not in favour of it because he was hesitant to provoke the Spanish ruler. But the sponsors of the scheme, relying upon the authority of the Scottish parliament, raised money and took out 12,000 colonists to Darien. The attacks of the Spaniards and the ignorance of the colonists proved the ruin of the scheme. The Scots ascribed the failure to the English. And more was their economic frustration. Their goods were excluded from the English markets because of heavy customs duties. All these led to the growth of hatred of the Scots towards the Englishmen. The notorious massacre of Glencoe in 1692 rankled in their memory. When William assumed the Crown of England, an amnesty was proclaimed to all the Highland chiefs who took the oath of allegiance to William III by a fixed date. Because of an oversight the head of the Macdonalds of Glencoe could not do so by the required date. So a company of soldiers was sent, the English troops massacred them. This massacre of 1692 aggravated the hatred of the Scots towards England.

Threat of Separation

Subsequent to this, there appeared certain signs that the Scots might separate themselves from England. In 1703 the Scottish parliament passed an act—*Act of Security*—refusing to recognize the successor of

Queen Anne as King of Scotland unless certain conditions were fulfilled, viz.—removal of trade restrictions, protection of Presbyterian religion in Scotland and authorization for the formation of a national militia. England did not want the connection to be broken. In 1704 a commission of 31 members was appointed by each party to consider the question. They came to an agreement that the two countries should be united. Its fruit was the Act of Union of 1707.

The Act of Union, 1707

According to the Act of Union. (1) England and Scotland should form the United Kingdom of Great Britain. It was to have one sovereign, one army, one Parliament and one flag.

(2) Secondly, the succession to the throne of Great Britain should be according to the terms of the Act of Settlement of 1701. The Scottish Act of Security was dropped.

(3) Thirdly, the Scottish law and the Scottish church should continue to be enforced in Scotland.

(4) Fourthly, both should have the same rights of trade.

(5) Fifthly, England should pay to Scotland £400,000 partly as compensation to the shareholders of the Darien Scheme, and partly as the contribution towards the national debt of Scotland.

(6) Sixthly, Scotland should be represented by 45 members in the Commons and by 16 elected peers in the Lords.

(7) Seventhly, the flag of Great Britain should be the Union Jack, as it had been in use since the time of James I.

Results

This union, unlike the Irish Union of 1800, proved a success. Most of the provisions were liberal in comparison with the Irish Union. Indeed, there was a fierce opposition in Scotland immediately after the act was passed. The day, on which the Scottish parliament was dissolved, was observed as a day of fasting and humiliation. The presbyterians were

afraid that the episcopalian church would acquire a superior position in Scotland. Many felt bitterly the loss of independence. The Highland chiefs were worried over their feudal rights. The anger of the Jacobites is understandable. Similarly, the English people were not happy over the Union. They thought that they had given large concessions to the Scots. Inspite of the misgivings of the people, the Union proved beneficial for both the countries.

It is future that justified the success of the Union. The commercial provisions of the Union led to the material prosperity of Scotland. Her long standing poverty was removed. Towns grew in number. Roads multiplied. Agriculture flourished. New manufactures were developed. The economic suffering of her people considerably minimised. The feudal elements were very soon brought under control. An act was passed in 1715 and again in 1746 by which the feudal jurisdiction of the Highland chiefs was abolished.

Besides trading facilities, other concessions to Scotland were to their heart's desire. She got her own church, own laws and own law courts, So the union did not rob her of any real independence, The national pride and sentiment of Scotland were duly respected.

Moreover, when the union was a happy compromise of the view points of the two countries, it proved successful and beneficial to both.

Even England gained a good deal of benefit from this union. In the language of Trevelyan, "In British Literature, Science, warfare, politics, administration and colonization, the Scots have played a part out of all proportion to their numbers." The contribution of the British Highlanders towards the making of the British Empire is indeed remarkable. Their services in the Seven Years' War were particularly praiseworthy.

The Union of the two neighbourly countries made it clear to all designing European powers that the chance of invading England with the help of an inimical Scotland was over now. England felt political

security. The unifying factor was the mutual benefit. In the language of Sir George Clark, "The union was no more good or bad than the law of gravitation." At another place the same writer says, "In retrospect the old enmities at last gained a romantic glamour for imaginations which could be indulged in the new safety".

In this manner, the beginning of the 18th century witnessed the solving of one of the age-long problems of England. The success of this union was primarily because of the religious affinity between the two nations, an affinity dating back to the Reformation movements of the Tudor age.

2. ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS

Analysis :

James I : Plantation of Ulster. Revolt of Tyrone suppressed. Lands confiscated. English and Scottish settlers given Ulster lands.

Charles I : Wentworth sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy. His Rule of 'Thorough'. Peace and Order. Industry encouraged. Church Reforms. Army raised. Rebellion after Wentworth's recall. Massacre of Protestants.

Commonwealth : Suppressed Ormond's revolt. Capture of Dreggheda and Wexford. Massacre of garrisons. Ireton governor. Stern Rule.

Later Stuarts : Period of Peace, Roman Catholic worship tolerated.

Revolution : James II attempted to recover Ireland with French help.

Defeated in the battle of Boyne.

Conquest of Ireland. Penal code of laws against Roman Catholics.

Irish Relations under Early Stuarts

When Elizabeth died, Ireland was in a vortex of revolts. Lord Mountjoy was having encounters with the rebels. When James I ascended the throne of England, the English subjugation of Ireland was not yet completed. It was completed only after Mountjoy defeated Tyrone, captured all the Spaniards at Kinsale and built forts throughout the country to suppress future revolts.

This was in 1603. Tyrone promised to be loyal and was therefore pardoned. But his discontent revived under James I's Lord Deputy—Sir Arthur Chichester—in 1607. His revolt was crushed. Tyrone and his followers fled from the country. He introduced the English land system, broke the tribal power of the chiefs, but allowed a large measure of toleration to Roman Catholics. Two thirds of Northern Ireland was declared forfeit. A large number of English and Scottish settlers, mostly Puritans, settled down in Ulster. This was the most successful of the Irish plantations. Ulster became thoroughly Protestant and therefore, friendly towards England.

Rule of Strafford

Charles I sent his friends Sir Thomas Wentworth to Ireland. He was the Lord Deputy from 1633 to 1640 and did his best to make Ireland prosperous. He introduced many successful changes. He made the officials attend to their business and to some extent stopped jobbery. He encouraged the cultivation of flax and established Irish linen industry. He made the army more disciplined. He improved the Protestant Church. The country was peaceful and it prospered. But in some other respects, his conduct was highly arbitrary. He confiscated a quarter of Connaught and sold it to the English settlers. He compelled the Irish Church to adopt the English articles. The land problem still dissatisfied the Irish people. He even browbeat the juries to give such verdicts which would justify his confiscation of the land. He was recalled to England when Charles I was in trouble in 1640.

Ireland during the Great Rebellion

No firm ruler followed to carry on Strafford's work, and in 1641 the Irish revolted. This was really the first national rebellion of the Irish against the English. In all earlier revolts the Irish had fought against Irish as well as against the English. The Irish rebels were Catholics, but most of the English and Scottish settlers were Protestants. The rebels massacred them and their lands were retaken. But after some time quarrels appeared among the rebels, one group fighting

for the King and the other against him. By the end of the Civil War, the Irish rebels were led by the Duke of Ormond.

Ireland under the Commonwealth

After Charles's death, Cromwell crossed to Ireland with a brigade of New Model Army. He imagined himself to be the avenger of God for the massacres of 1641 and that too was deputed by God himself. He took Drogheda and Wexford and put all the persons therein to the sword. Meanwhile, famine broke out and Cromwell left the country entrusting the job to Ireton who completed the task by 1652. By the end of this period, one third of the population perished and thousands of Irishmen left the country to serve in foreign armies and some hundreds of boys and girls were shipped to Barbados and sold to the planters. After the conquest, fresh plantations were carried out. A large area of land was distributed to Cromwell's soldiers and Protestant settlers. Finally, the practice of Catholic religion was suppressed. At the same time, Ireland was united with England. She was given representation in British Parliament, and above all, she, for once, enjoyed the benefits of free trade with England.

Period of Peace under Later Stuarts

Between Cromwell's Conquest of Ireland and the Revolution of 1689 there was a period of forty years of peace in Ireland. Charles II did not undo the work of Cromwell. Native Irish and English settlers lived side by side and there was no great outbreak.

Under James II Ireland again began to prosper. He was a Catholic and began to shower favours on the Irish Catholics. All high posts in civil and military offices were given to Irish Catholics.

Revolution in Ireland

Louis XIV was ready to help James II to recover his throne. The two kings thought it would be best to begin by invading Ireland. The Protestant settlers in Ulster were suddenly attacked and their two strongholds Londonderry and Enniskillen were besieged. A French fleet brought James to Ireland

and, therefore, the attention of William III was first directed towards the suppression of Ireland. By the end of 1690 the English recovered Ireland as far as the river Shannon. After the victory of William at the battle of Boyne James II fled to France. The capture of Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Kinsale deprived the French of their landing places. Ultimately, the Irish surrendered their stronghold of Limerick. The Irish were forced to give up the cause of James II.

A Protestant Parliament met in 1695 and laid down laws against the Irish Catholics, known as the *Penal Code and Commercial Code*. These were directed against the native Irish and were of such severity that for three quarters of a century the land and its people lay crushed. The Catholics were forbidden to enter the learned professions, to carry arms, to act as guardians of minors, to purchase land or to marry Protestants. In fact, the Catholics became "hewers of wood and drawers of water to their conquerors".

3. RELATIONS WITH HOLLAND

Analysis :

Rise of Holland in the Seventeenth Century. Contact of the English with the Dutch. Favourable conditions for growth of Holland. Holland's strong points : (a) Colonial empire in East Indies, North America and Cape of Good Hope ; (b) monopoly of colonial trade ; (c) international money-market.

Growth of rivalries between England and Holland. Massacre of Amboyna. Navigation Act, 1651.

Anglo-Dutch Relation during Commonwealth :

First Dutch War, 1652

Anglo-Dutch Relation after Restoration :

Re-enactment of Navigation Act, 1661.

Second Dutch War, 1664.

Treaty of Dover,

Third Dutch War, 1672.

Anglo-Dutch Relation after the Revolution :

Joint action of England and Holland against Louis XIV. War of the League of Augsburg.

War of the Spanish Succession : Treaty of Utrecht.

Reverse of position after 1713. The Dutch on the decline. England supreme in maritime, commercial and financial activities.

Rise of Holland

England took to the sea greatly during the Stuart period. As she grew in commerce, her people fell under the influence of the Dutch. As friends or enemies, as partners or as rivals men of the two nations were now in perpetual contact. By the middle of the seventeenth century there emerged a new power in Europe called the Dutch Republic. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the people

of the Netherlands rose in revolt against the tyranny of Philip II of Spain. William the Silent of the House of Orange was their leader. After a protracted warfare Philip IV of Spain recognised the independence of the seven United Provinces (Holland) by the Treaty of Munster in 1648. This independence was formally recognised by the Treaty of Westphalia.

Holland had a number of favourable factors for her growth as a leading commercial nation in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. Its geographical position, midway between the expansive Baltic Sea and western and southern Europe, its natural harbour and an extensive hinterland helped her commercial future. Its herring fishery was what wool to England and brought tons of gold to Holland. Spain and Portugal were on the wane as commercial powers, and England had her domestic quarrels. So the Dutch had won an expansive colonial empire and the carrying trade was completely under their control.

Taking advantage of the internal wars in England and France, the Dutch built up a great colonial empire in the East Indies, North America and the Cape of Good Hope. But the attitude of England towards Holland in the middle of the seventeenth century was one of commercial rivalry. Holland had so far been the Conqueror. The Dutch had shut the English out from trade in the East Indies; and they held the monopoly of the carrying trade.

Bitter feelings between England and Holland : The English had a pre-sense that a war with the Dutch was inevitable. There existed both Commercial rivalry and bitter feelings since the massacre of Amboyna (1623) when a few Englishmen were executed by the Dutch on a charge of conspiracy. After the execution of Charles I, Cromwell took up the challenge of the Dutch.

Navigation Act, 1651

In 1651 the Rump Parliament passed the famous Navigation Act. It provided that

(a) goods were to be imported into England in English ships or in ships of the country which produced the goods ;

(b) all goods exported from England should be carried in English ships ;

(c) the English claimed supremacy in the Channel and the right of searching neutral ships for arms

On the one hand, this Act struck a great blow at the Dutch carrying trade and on the other it made English nation great. Soon there was enormous development of English shipping.

First Dutch War 1652

Then arose other questions between the two nations. There were troubles between English and Dutch fishers off the English Coast ; the refusal of the Dutch to dip their flag to English warships in the English Channel was another cause in the list , the Dutch harbouring of supporters of Charles and their failure to punish those persons responsible for the murder of the English ambassador to Holland were additional factors. Soon there came a clash between the Dutch and English fleet near Dover in 1652. The war that ensued was a see-saw game for three years. Victories were evenly divided between the two parties. In a way neither party got the better of the other. The Dutch resources were exhausted. So a peace was made in 1654. In the peace treaty the Dutch agreed to salute the English flag in the Channel, to pay for the 'Amboyne massacre and other wrongs committed in the East Indies, and to expel the Royalists from their country.

Anglo-Dutch relation after Restoration

By this settlement, the Dutch problem was not solved. The commercial jealousy between the two continued. There was a rivalry for fisheries also. The herring the Dutch caught off the Scottish coast gave much revenue to Holland. Parliament at home was moved by the complaints of the English merchants also. The Anglo-Dutch enmity that existed under the Commonwealth continued under the restored monarchy. The Navigation Act was re-enacted in

1661 and extended. Besides 1651 enactment it ordered that Dutch merchants were not to live in any English colony and that whalebone, salt fish etc., if imported into England, were to pay double duty. King Charles II regarded it as his patriotic duty; and the Duke of York wanted naval glory. King Charles was also enraged by the exclusion of his nephew, William of Orange, from the Stadtholderate. Parliament voted the enormous sum of £2½ million, and more than a hundred new ships were built. Both Cavaliers and Cromwellian officers received Commissions from the king. Rupert and Monk commanded the navy.

Second Dutch War, 1664

The Second Dutch war began off the West Coast of Africa in 1664 and next year it spread to the home waters. The English captured new Amsterdam while the Dutch captured a part of Guiana in 1664. In 1665 the Duke of York won a great victory against the Dutch at Lowestoft.

In 1667 the Dutch general De Ruyter made his famous raid into the Medway and burnt the English ships in the Chatham harbour. At this turn of events the English hastily made peace, as the Dutch were also equally anxious to compromise owing to Louis XIV's ambitious designs over Spanish Netherlands. Thus the Dutch agreed to the Treaty of Breda in 1667. According to this, England obtained New Amsterdam; and the Dutch, Pularoon. The Navigation Act was modified in favour of Holland.

Treaty of Dover and Third Dutch War

Within a year of the Peace of Breda, a Triple Alliance of England, Holland and Sweden was formed. Its object was to oppose Louis XIV. But Charles II was not sincere. Soon thereafter a secret Treaty of Dover was made in 1670. According to this treaty England promised to help Louis XIV in the projected attack on Holland. For this service, England was to receive Zeeland and France was to secure any conquest made in Spanish South America. Another provision of it was payment of £300,000 a year to Charles.

As per the secret provisions of the treaty, the English fleet attacked the Dutch Smyrna fleet off the Isle of Wright. Actual war was declared a little later. De Ruyter defeated the combined fleets of the French and the English, prevented a naval attack on Holland. Later on William was elected Captain-General. Then as a desperate step dykes were cut and Amsterdam was saved. A few months later, the Emperor Leopold and the elector of Brandenburg made an alliance with Holland. A year later Spain also joined the Coalition. But in 1674 England was forced to make peace with Holland, and Louis XIV, also acceded to the Treaty of Nymwegen in 1678. By this treaty, Louis kept most of the barrier fortresses and also got Franche Comte; at the same time Holland was saved from Louis.

Relations with Holland after the Revolution

After the Revolution of 1689 the relations between England and Holland were changed. William of Orange became the joint-ruler of England along with Mary. His enmity with Louis XIV was bitter, and he carried it to England. Owing to the ambitious policy of Louis XIV the Balance of Power in Europe was disturbed. William roused European powers to a sense of danger from France, and built up a mighty coalition against Louis XIV. In England, too, he, as William III, made it clear to England that resistance to France should be the first charge on England, that, France might re-impose James II upon England again and that "No Holland, no England." Then followed William's War, known as the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-97) which was ended by the Treaty of Ryswick. After four years, there broke out a War on a grander scale—the War of the Spanish Succession. The preparations were finalised by William III but the operations took place during the reign of Anne when William's policy was followed. The Dutch and the English fought their common enemy the French and the War was ended by the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

The Treaty of Utrecht was an event of vast consequences in the history of Europe. It marked the end of danger to Europe from the old French monarchy ; it also saved England and Holland from the domination of France ; and it signified the maritime, commercial and final supremacy of Great Britain. This was possible, because of the alliance of England and Holland, of joint enterprise of the Dutch and English in these wars on sea and land. In 1689 the understanding between the two countries was not very cordial, as they regarded each other as rivals in trade and admiralty. But a united front was moulded by the greatest statesman in Europe of the time, who governed both England and Holland.

By 1714 there had been a change in the strength of power of both England and Holland. The Dutch power was on the decline and ultimately sank into comparative insignificance. Holland had internal party strife between the Republican party and the Orange party. The carrying trade of Holland had stunning blows from the Navigation Acts of England, and gradually lost command of the colonial markets. The number of Dutch ships in the allied fleet decreased year by year, and the Dutch finance had setbacks, as the strain of war taxation and effort slowly ruined the artificial prosperity of Holland. It was artificial, because it varied with the fluctuations in the world's trade through Amsterdam. In the latter part of Queen Anne's reign the mercantile community in London had little cause for jealousy of Dutch commerce and so concessions were given to Holland in terms of the Peace of Utrecht. Gradually Holland fell behind England in the race for commercial leadership. England's maritime security was ensured when the Netherlands were transferred to Austria, an inland power of Central Europe from whom England had nothing to fear.

B. COLONIES AND COMMERCE OF ENGLAND

1. GROWTH OF THE FIRST BRITISH EMPIRE

Analysis :

Beginnings towards Colonisation made in Elizabethan period, but Shortlived. Trading and Colonising activities of England in the Seventeenth Century.

North America

1607	Virginia	1610	Nova Scotia
1629	Massachusetts	1620	Plymouth
1690	Connecticut	1686	Rhode Island
1682	Maryland	1637	New Hampshire
1663	South Carolina	1663	North Carolina
1713	Newfoundland	1681	Pennsylvania
		1732	Georgia

West Indies

1623	St. Kitts	1625	Barbados
1655	Jamaica (by Conquest).		

Hudson Bay Territory

1670 Hudson Bay Territory. Trade in furs.

East Indies

Spice Islands. Dutch opposition.
1623 Massacre of Amboyna in Moluccas.

India

Factories on Indian Coasts,

1612	Stuart	1639	Madras
1650	Hooghly	1668	Bombay
1696	Fort William (Calcutta)		

The first British Empire was planted between 1600 and 1660 and organised between 1660 and 1714.

Causes of growth of British Colonies in America

There were numerous causes that contributed to the growth of British Colonies in America. Religious

intolerance had driven Puritans to New England and Roman Catholics to Maryland; the success of the Puritan Revolution had sent Cavaliers to Virginia. The Puritans wanted to find a land where undefiled religion might live in peace, and the Catholics wanted to carry the Gospel to the heathen.

Many had gone to America to acquire wealth or to escape starvation; and America seemed a place wherein to mend broken fortunes. The lure of lucre and trade in fish and lumber attracted many Englishmen there.

To these must be added the war with Spain. The Spanish power must be cut at its root; and so English Settlement overseas was necessary. And many thought that the mother country was over-populated. But the basic cause was the discovery of new trade routes which helped the European Commerce to escape from the narrow confines of the Mediterranean and expand over the whole world across the high seas.

Before the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, English commerce overseas had been very small in amount. Some efforts were made by Gilbert and Raleigh during the reign of Elizabeth to establish colonies in North America, but were not successful. At her death England had not a single settlement overseas.

Colonies in North America

In the first decade of the Seventeenth Century, endeavour was made to found the first of the thirteen English Colonies on the east coast of North America. In 1607 was founded a colony in *Virginia*, its first township being called Jamestown after King James I. It was founded by a London Company. Next came into existence the Puritan Colony of *Plymouth*. The settlers at Plymouth came by the Mayflower in 1620. Nine years later, a similar settlement, *Massachusetts*, was made by another body of Puritans. This was granted a charter by Charles I. Soon several Puritan colonies were founded to the north and south of Massachusetts. In the end there were four English Colonies—*Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut*

and *New Hampshire*. The four together came to be known as the New England Colonies.

In 1632 a Roman Catholic, Lord Baltimore, obtained authority from Charles I to establish the Colony of *Maryland*. Later in the century, in the reign of Charles II the *Carolinas, North and South*, were settled. *Pennsylvania* was established by a Quaker, William Penn, in 1681. *Newfoundland* was England's oldest Colony, being discovered by Cabot. But it was abandoned for a long time. By the Treaty of Utrecht it was recognised as a British possession.

Thus were founded 12 out of thirteen Colonies by the end of the Stuart Period. The thirteenth colony *Georgia* was founded in 1732 during the reign of George I. The colonies of the south were called "Plantation Colonies"; their climate was warm and much work there was done by Negro slaves. The New England Colonies formed the northern group; these people were Puritans, and the climate was similar to that of England. Between these groups lay the middle Colonies—New York, New Jersey and Delaware—which were taken from the Dutch. The people there were Swedish or Danish or Dutch.

Colonies in West Indies

In the seventeenth century many of the Islands of the West Indies were acquired by the English. Some of them changed hands from time to time. The earliest settlements were at St. Kitts in 1623 and Barbados in 1625. Many small islands were colonised during the next few years. Jamaica was captured from the Spanish in 1655, and like Barbados it was never lost to an enemy. Tobacco was at first the chief product of the Island, but later sugar-cane was introduced and gradually replaced tobacco as the staple West Indian product.

Hudson Bay territory

The Hudson's Bay Company was founded in 1670. It did roaring business in furs with the Indians of the northern part of North America. There was trouble with the French. By the Treaty of Utrecht, however, the land around Hudson Bay was declared

to be British territory. It was called Rupertsland after Prince Rupert who was one of the founders of the Hudson's Bay Company.

East Indies and India

During the Middle Ages trade with India was by land route. In 1498 a Portuguese sailor, Vasco-da-Gama, reached India by sailing round Africa. The Portuguese built up a regular trade with the East by way of the Cape of Good Hope and settled in places like Goa and Bombay. Early in the seventeenth century the Dutch and English formed East India Companies and built up trade; but they had encounters between them. In 1623 a few English merchants were put to death at Amboyna in the Moluccas. After the massacre the English East India Company gave up trading with the islands and turned to the mainland of India. A number of 'factories'* (or overseas stations in charge of 'factors' or agents) were started then—Surat in 1612, Madras in 1639, Hooghly in 1650, Bombay in 1668 and Fort William, (Calcutta) in 1696.

2. OLD COLONIAL SYSTEM : ITS GROWTH

Analysis :

Two movements in the Seventeenth Century : (a) Colonising and (b) Trading.

Out of these grew a system, known as Old Colonial System or "Mercantilism", also called "Nationalism in Commerce".

Features of the System :

1. Settlements in islands or coasts.
2. Outposts of mother country.
3. Supply of raw materials to mother country.
4. Produced articles which mother country could not produce.

*A 'factory' was built after the plan of some of the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Buildings of two storeys were placed round a central courtyard. The rooms on the ground floor contained stores and offices. The upper rooms were for living and sleeping. Round the whole there was a strong protective wall, so that it could be defended in case of attack.

5. Trade controlled by Navigation Laws.
6. Mother Country responsible for Colonial defence.

Trading Companies.

Monopoly trading encouraged. Charter from Crown, Carried on most of the Country's foreign trade.

Merchant Adventurers : Zone—North Sea and Baltic.

Muscovy Company : „ —Russia

Levant Company . „ —Eastern Mediterranean

East India Company : „ —Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn.

Guinea Company . „ —West Africa.

Hudson Bay Company : „ —North of North America.

Regulated Company Versus Interlopers..

Old Colonial System ; „ Benefited the mother country only.

During the Seventeenth Century the European Countries made systematic efforts towards expansion in the west and in the east. A wave of 'Colonising movements' was noticed among the national states, and trade was greatly influenced by them.

The old colonial system of England, as it manifested itself during the Seventeenth Century, grew without a definite system or thought. In course of time it came to assume certain features as can be seen from the Navigation Laws or other laws governing exploitation of raw materials, discouragement of colonial industry, control of Colonial trade and shipping and so forth.

Mercantilism

In the midst of the Colonial activities a new politico-economic doctrine, known as mercantilism, evolved itself in the Stuart era ; and particularly in the reign of Charles II its principles stood out in relief. It was 'nationalism in commerce'.

Characteristics

Its characteristics were ;

(a) *Promotion of commerce on national interests :*

Its chief object was to promote commerce on national interests. Accordingly, its goal was the increase of the stock of bullion possessed by home country. And

bullion was considered to be the only real wealth. Inevitably, merchants were encouraged to send their goods only to those countries which would pay them in gold and not in goods.

About this time the growing national states of Europe were on warring terms with their neighbours and they came to find that their power rested on financial resources, and not on the fearlessness of their army. So the monarchs then encouraged their subjects to trade and preserve wealth. It now occurred to them that if a nation exported costly manufactures to its own Colony and imported cheap raw materials from them, the money paid into the home country for manufactures would more than counterbalance the money paid for raw materials, and this "*favourable balance of trade*" would bring gold to the nation. This economic theory and the system based upon it are called mercantilism.

In order to establish such a balance of trade, the government might either forbid or heavily tax the import of manufactures from abroad, might prohibit the export of raw materials, might subsidize the export of manufactures, and might attempt by minute regulations to foster industry at home, and discourage competition in colonies.

As a result, Cromwell and later rulers felt the necessity of introducing the Navigation laws.

Navigation and Trade Laws: From the navigation laws, enacted in the 17th century from time to time, an idea about the outstanding features of the colonial system can be had. These regulated the trade of the plantations and specified the articles of export and import. The first important Navigation law was passed in 1651 which provided,

(1) that commodities from any part of Asia, Africa, and America imported into England or Ireland or the plantations should be carried in English or Colonial ships,

(2) that the goods of the European countries could, however, be imported into England, Ireland or

the colonies either by English or colonial or by the vessels of the country exporting the goods,

(iii) that only those ships were to be allowed, of which the owner, the master or the crew were men of England or the colonies.

The Navigation Act of 1660 further clarified the definition of an English or plantation ship. It also laid down that in certain cases the ships to be utilised for a trade must have been built in England or the colonies and this requirement was made general after two years. This Act further "enumerated" the colonial products that could be exported from the colonies to the mother country through Ireland and other plantations. The original list of such enumerated commodities contained sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo etc. The non-enumerated commodities could, however, be sent to other countries, but only in English or plantation ships.

(b) *Economic Exploitation* : One feature of the colonial system was "economic exploitation" of the colonies. It was the general belief that the colonies existed only for the sake of the mother country. Under the Old Colonial System the colonies were not to export certain commodities to any other country except England. They *could not manufacture* articles which might injure the trade interest of the mother country. They also *could not hire the ships* of any other countries except those of England, however, costly these might be.

The colonies were, in fact, valued as markets where raw materials could be bought and manufactured articles sold, to the advantage of England's industry and commerce. Once said Chatham "the importance of America is that it is a double market : a market of consumption and a market of supply." Cromwell, Shaftesbury and Somers also held the same view. In short the whole colonial system, viewed in its economic perspective, was based on the economic exploitation of the colonies.

(c) *Discouragement of Colonial Industries and Trade* : As the whole system was based on the

exploitation of the daughter colonies, the mother country would not allow the latter to develop their industries and trade. As a consequence of this policy of Britain the colonies were not allowed to export some of the chief colonial products such as cotton and tobacco which might injure the British Trade. The manufacture of woollen and steel goods or even straw hats was forbidden, so that the British manufactures of those goods might not suffer. Such a policy of 'restriction and control' of the mother country hindered the development of the colonial trade and industries. It became a source of trouble to the mother country in later ages.

(d) *Control of Colonial Shipping* : The British Government established control over the colonial shipping. As enacted by the Navigation Act, the colonies could not hire the ships of other countries. They could not derive the economic benefit by hiring cheap ships. They were bound to carry their goods only in British ships which were comparatively very dear. In some of the colonies, the colonists were to use only the ships constructed in England. This was bitterly resented by the colonists.

(e) *Comparative freedom of the Colonial Government* : One important feature of colonial system was the Colonial Government. At first there were two types of colonies—the royal colonies and the proprietary colonies. The Royal colonies enjoyed very little political freedom, while the proprietary ones had liberal constitutions. Towards the end of the Stuart period the anomalies between the two were abolished. Then each of the colonies had enjoyed the right of self-government. Each of them had its own assembly whose members were the representatives of the different parts of the colony. The assembly, to its dissatisfaction, was dominated by the British Governors, Colonels or Captains who collected several taxes without sanction of this Assembly. Consequently, there prevailed dissatisfaction among the colonists regarding the character of the Government.

(f) *Growth of regulated Companies*: Trading and colonial enterprises on a large scale could not be possible by efforts of individuals or interlopers. During this period English trade overseas, whether with the colonies or foreign countries was carried on by great trading companies, and the individual trader or "interloper" was discouraged. These companies possessed charters granted by the crown, and they enjoyed a monopoly of trade. One of the earliest of these companies was the Merchant Adventurers who traded with all the countries of northern Europe. They had several depots on the continent, especially at Antwerp and Hamburg. Other companies, regulated by the king came into existence soon after. After some time for facility of banking and financing the trade, Joint Stock Companies were introduced also. These Companies were preferred to individual trading.

(g) *Growth of Slave Trade*: An incidental consequence of this system was the growth of slave trade. Ships carried the cotton goods of Lancashire from the port of Liverpool. The hardware of Midland was carried from the port of Bristol. Both these commodities were taken to the west coast of Africa where they were exchanged for slaves captured by the native slave-dealers. These slaves were then sold in the West Indies and in the Southern colonies. The money that the traders secured from these dealings was utilised for purchasing sugar, cotton and tobacco which were brought home.

(h) *Foreign entanglements*: The commercial activities of the colonies and mother country gave rise to many political entanglements. By the end of the Stuart era, mercantilism came to be aligned with politics. The wars that England waged against Holland in the 17th century and against France in the 17th and 18th centuries were, to a great extent, motivated by mercantile considerations. In other words, the foreign affairs were largely dependent on commerce and trade.

Benefit of Colonial System

Although the regulations of the colonial system were mainly in the interest of the mother country, yet they did not ignore the interest of the colonies altogether. "The aim of the system", says Ramsay Muir, "was to promote the prosperity of all the members of the commonwealth by encouraging them to play their part in the carefully planned economic system. It is certain that the colonies had derived great advantages from the system in some ways, though they may have suffered in others." There seems to be some truth in the statement of this English historian. Firstly, the limitation of Imperial trade to British and Colonial ships had fostered the growth of a very active shipping trade in New England. Secondly, the duties levied on foreign goods destined for the colonies were generally refunded except in case of goods which directly competed with British goods. Thirdly, the fact that the colonial tobacco, coffee, sugar, etc. had monopoly of the British market and that the other colonial products enjoyed very substantial preferences and in many cases received bounties from the British Treasury, formed a solid compensation for the limitation of the export of certain articles to Britain. But all these advantages, viewed from this colonists' point of view, were a poor compensation for the disabilities under which they were working. Consequently, they were fed up with the old colonial system. A quarrel between the colonies and the mother country was brewing, ready to burst in an opportune moment.

C. CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

1- TUDOR DESPOTISM AND STUART AUTOCRACY

Analysis :

Tudor Despotism characterised by popularity and tactfulness of monarchs. Tudors satisfied with substance of Power.

Stuart Autocracy characterised by unpopularity and tactlessness of kings. Stuarts wanted acceptance by Parliament of theory of Divine Right of Kings. Constant Conflicts.

Change of times and attitudes was responsible for difference.

The greatest event of the Stuart Age was the struggle between the King and Parliament over many a Constitutional point. The chief issue was over the locus of sovereignty—either in the King or in the Parliament. It is necessary, therefore, that the constitutional problems of the period are read with care.

England's toleration of Tudor despotism

The Tudors were popular monarchs. Their rule was in substance 'despotic' and absolutist. The people had acquiesced in their rule. There was hardly any serious hitch or breach with the monarch, as it happened in the seventeenth century during the rule of the Stuarts. There were enough reasons for it.

England tolerated the despotic sway of the Tudors, because the country had the need of a strong rule in the 16th century. When Henry VII ascended the throne, the country was torn asunder by baronial factions. England had very little influence on the continent. In the reign of Henry VIII the whole nation co-operated with the King in throwing off the pope in England. England was beset with dangers at

home and abroad in the first thirty years of Elizabeth's reign. The Tudor monarchs rose equal to the aspirations of the people. They restored peace and order, humbled the nobles, subdued sedition, repelled the Armada and fostered prosperity. They had been willing at times to cater to the whims of their subjects. They had faithfully personified national patriotism, and the English nation in turn extolled them. Thus the parliament generally supported the Tudors. All the acts of the Tudor monarchs from overthrow of the church to the settlement of succession were carried out through the Parliaments.

Tudors' tact : The Tudor monarchs, on their part, knew the art and tact how to deal with Parliament. They were content with the substance of power, and did not boast of it in theories. Whenever they saw any general murmur of the people against any of their actions, they gave up that particular line of policy. They knew how and when to yield with grace to popular demands.

Change of times under the Stuarts

When the Stuarts ascended the throne, the times were changed. The new forces, which were gathering strength in the Tudor period, began to operate. After the defeat of Spanish Armada England had been free from foreign attacks. There remained no longer any fear of Catholic rising at home. The people were greatly restrained from criticising the policy of Elizabeth in consideration of her age, sex and services to England. But with the change of dynasty a change of feeling came. The Stuarts were Scots and so could hardly understand the temper of Englishmen. Besides they were brutally frank. During the Tudor period a new nobility of wealth, enriched by enclosures, by the new agricultural system and by the spoils of the monastic houses, had arisen. Along with the country gentry, the merchants acquired wealth by the development of trade with South America and East Indies. Moreover, the squires had received an excellent political training in local government. Parliamentary leaders like Eliot, Hampden, Pym and Cromwell came from the rank of the squirearchy.

At the close of the sixteenth century not only was Parliament ready to take upon itself fresh responsibilities in the sphere of Self-government, but was conscious of its readiness.

The Stuart kings had no wisdom or tact to read the trends of the time. They failed to humour Parliament as the Tudors did. So they could not avert the crisis. The temper, behaviour and character of the Stuart monarchs besides the changed political and religious situations were greatly responsible for the situation. The Stuarts aggravated it by adumbrating the theory of royal prerogatives and their failure to equalise religious differences. The Tudors had no theory of absolute government, whereas the Stuarts proclaimed the theory of "divine right of kingship." Theory is always more irritating than practice. Parliament in the 17th century was puritanic in temperament while the Stuarts wanted to maintain the Anglican form of worship. The harmony which existed between the King and Parliament in the 16th century came to an end. In that century Sovereignty lay in the Crown-in-Parliament. But when harmony between the two ended, the question of superiority and Sovereignty arose. The question arose whether prerogative was superior to law. The change in situation and the Stuart theory of government brought about the difference between the Tudor despotism and Stuart autocracy.

The Stuart kings often tried to rule 'absolutely' without Parliament as had done the Tudor monarchs. But the necessities of state and finance had frustrated their attempts.

A series of conflicts and differences ensued from 1603 till 1688 between the King and Parliament over finance and other matters. At last the Parliament triumphed through the execution of one king and exile of another. In 1689 and subsequent years the Parliament became supreme in authority. Kingship itself ceased to be hereditary and of divine origin. It came to be a gift of the Parliament, and the authority of the king now became "limited."

Thus in course of about two centuries the kings wielded authority differently. The Tudors were despotic in actual authority, and constitutional in form, whereas the Stuarts were constantly prevented from being absolute till at last kingship became limited.

2. CAUSES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE STUARTS AND PARLIAMENT

Analysis :

Causes ;

1. Change of time. Divine Right of Kings repudiated.
2. Religious tension,
3. Ambiguity of Constitution.
4. Economico-political causes.
5. Prerogative *Versus* Privilege of Parliament.
6. Authority of taxation.
7. Legislative Power.
8. Rights of members of Parliament.
9. Control over ministers.

Change of time—a cause

The Stuarts came to the throne in transitional and consequently critical period of English history. Under the disciplinary supremacy of the Tudors, an intelligent and prosperous middle class, trained in practical administration of local government, had arisen. The country had outgrown the necessity of royal despotism which the Tudors had wielded for about a century and the nation was eager to have a share in the government of the country. Also the Stuarts only wanted to rule as the Tudors had done and determined to be absolute in the State. But they were not satisfied with only the substance of autocracy, they claimed to govern the country by "Divine authority", without paying any heed to the rights and privileges of Parliament, and desired that Parliament should accept it.

Religious tension

Not only was there socio-economical change in the Tudor-Stuart period. there was a tendency of

change in religion also. The nation was becoming more and more Puritanical in religion. Most of the energetic and enthusiastic men of the time wanted to carry on the Reformation further. But the Stuart kings, especially James I and Charles I, tried to preserve the Church Settlement of Elizabeth, and they leaned towards Catholicism. The result was that the bitterness of a religious quarrel was added to the animosity of political strife. Had there been no religious quarrel the civil war would not have been fought. The Puritans being baffled to secure their ways and views accepted, offered resistance to the crown in the Parliament where they were in the majority. The aggressiveness of the Puritans was a prolific cause of conflict.

Ambiguity of Constitution

There was much ambiguity in the constitutional law of England. Precedents were not wanting to show either the sovereignty of the Parliament or that of the king. Nothing was defined. So conflicts came in the way of interpretation. In the conflict between the King and Parliament in the 17th century England, the question, whether the King or the Parliament was sovereign, was really at issue, and ultimately decided.

Economic-political Causes

The economic condition of Europe at the beginning of the 17th century largely contributed to the production of the constitutional crisis in England. Under two concurrent circumstances the price level of commodities continued persistently to rise. Coins were reduced in weight and mixed up with alloy by the Tudor monarchs. So prices and rents began to rise. Moreover the same tendency was heightened by the flooding of Europe with silver of the mines of Europe. As money became plenty, its value in relation to commodities fell. Among the sufferers from the fall in value of money there was the crown, and James I at the beginning of his reign felt the financial position acutely. The Commons did not take into consideration this new situation and hence refused to grant additional sum to the king. James I

of Parliament. In 1614 James I imprisoned Thomas Wentworth, Christopher, Nevelle and Sir Walter Chute for words spoken in the House of Commons. In 1621 he committed Sir Edwin Sandys for speeches in the House. He further forbade the House to meddle with the mysteries of state and declared that the privileges of Parliament were derived from "the grace and permission to the ancestors." The Parliament remonstrated without effect. Again Charles I secured the imprisonment of Sir John Eliot, Denzil, Holles and Benjamine Valentine for words spoken in Parliament.

(d) *Control over ministers*: The Parliament wanted to control the ministers of the king. But James I and Charles I would not allow parliament to interfere with the practical administration of the State. So on this ground too a conflict arose between the first two Stuarts and Parliament. The Stuarts held one theory of government and the Parliament held another but the precedents were not clear to establish the theory of either the King or Parliament.

In brief, the causes of conflict between the Crown and Parliament were many. Some of these were major issues and some minor. But the total effect was the feeling of animosity between the two and there was full spirit of contest between them, none yielding ground. Had the Stuarts been more practical, the conflict could have been avoided for sometime. But ultimately a conflict was sure to happen. For, even in Europe there grew tendencies to overthrow kings and to be independent of them. So a conflict was inevitable. It is accidental that the Stuarts precipitated it earlier by their hypothetical pedantic theories and tactlessness.

3. FISCAL CLAIMS OF STUART KINGS

Analysis :

Difference between Stuart Kings and Parliament.

Over Fiscal Claims :

- (1) Loans
- (2) Impositions
- (3) Direct Taxation

There were precedents in Tudor and previous periods, but the Stuarts quarrelled for tactlessness.

These are three-fold—(1) Loans, (2) Impositions, and (3) Direct Taxation.

Tudor Precedents : The feeling against allowing the king any discretionary power over the pockets of his subjects was very strong and it was closely guarded by statutes. The Tudors had been obliged to respect it and the pecuniary exaction made by them was neither frequent nor severe.

(1) They had exacted loans from their richer subjects, and compelled them to pay the sums promised by summoning them before the council.

(2) They had occasionally profited by re-arrangements of the tariff made for the purpose of promoting English trade.

(3) They had levied ships and shipmoney for the defence of the realm. The Stuarts naturally made use of these precedents and attempted to develop them. What the Tudors had done without protest and even with popular approval, now raised a storm of popular disapproval, heated debates in Parliament and litigation in Courts.

Exaction of Loans

In the case of Oliver St. John it had been settled with the ultimate concurrence of Coke that crown was at perfect liberty to persuade its subjects to lend their money and that the circulation of a letter stating that this was contrary to law and otherwise, reflecting upon the king, was punishable as a seditious libel. But in 1626 Charles, being heard pressed for money, attempted to compel his people to lend specific sum of money named by himself. Those who refused were to appear before the council. The judges decided that it was illegal and so the expedient of stating that persons so arrested were arrested *per speciale mandatum regis* was resorted to. In the ensuing Parliament the illegality of such a loan was practically admitted by king's secretary and the clause of the Petition of Right finally settled the question.

Imposition of New Customs by Prerogative

It is clear from medieval statutes and precedents that the king had lost many powers and that he could impose new customs without Parliament's consent. Certain amounts had been fixed by Parliament and were annexed to the crown in perpetuity and from Edward III's time any increase had had Parliamentary sanction. Since 1453 an increase known as 'tonnage and poundage' had been voted for life by Parliament to each king at the beginning of his reign. Parliamentary control was thus well established. On the contrary, it was clear, the king had large powers of rearranging the tariff to further the commercial interest of his subjects and since commerce was becoming more and more international in the 16th century these powers were more and more extensively used. Nor was any serious objection made to this. But the principle that the crown cannot impose new customs and the principle that crown can rearrange tariff might easily conflict. It might be contended that a duty imposed in furtherance of commercial interest was an infringement of the principle of 'no imposition without Parliamentary sanction'.

Bates's Case in 1606

James I had imposed a poundage of 5 Sh. on currents in addition to the poundage of 2s. 6d. imposed by statute. Bates declined to pay it on the ground that king had no right. The question was thoroughly discussed by the bar and bench of the exchequer.

The court held that king's power was twofold, absolute and ordinary. Over matters of state, such as foreign affairs, royal power was absolute. The regulation of foreign trade was a branch of foreign affairs and therefore raising and lessening of these customs duties belonged to the king's absolute power. The contention that Bates, being an English subject, was not liable did not stand in view of the fact that the imposition was laid on the currents while in the hands of Venetians and Bates had imported them. The court held that the crown had similar power

with regard to English commodities though the question did not arise.

In fact, the court held that the question was whether the crown intended to regulate trade or to raise money. The crown being responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs has a wide prerogative to act as it pleases in the interest of trade. This includes a power to admit, to exclude or to discourage, by Impositions, certain commodities. Impositions levied with objects are not illegal.

There was no general disapproval of the decision—rather it was generally regarded as correct. Coke and Popham approved of it and Hakewell admitted that he was much persuaded by it.

In reliance upon the decision James issued a new Book of Rates for placing imposition on articles produced and sold in England. But these impositions fell within the *Dicta* rather than the decision of the case and pointed to the conclusion that the king intended to use his prerogative over trade for purely fiscal purposes. The king claimed that the power to levy 'impositions' had been acknowledged to belong to kings to sustain the great charge and expense in the maintenance of their crowns and dignities. The question was discussed in the debate of House of Commons in 1610 in which Hakewell tried to prove the illegality of impositions on merchandise without Parliamentary consent. Bacon who supported king did not attempt to assent the crown's supposed right to raise revenue by 'imposition.' His contention was that all the impositions were levied in the exercise of king's prerogative to regulate trade. The question was *de portorio*, not *de tributo*. The chief effect was the abandonment by the crown of imposition on home goods.

Direct Taxation

Case of Shipmoney : The crown had clearly no right to impose direct taxation without Parliamentary consent. Medieval authority was clear on the point and Petition of right decisive ; even the judges deciding the shipmoney case did not deny that the

king normally had no power to levy tax without consent. The question is—can such a right be exercised in normal times?

Historical Justification: Medieval precedents showed that king, entrusted with defence of realm, had wide power of taking necessary measures. Former kings had taken ships, men and money, when needed, for the defence and it was never contested in Parliaments. Later lawyers recognised such power. In 1607 the judges declared that all sorts of trespasses on private property could be justified by the exigencies of national defence. The prerogative of demanding ships or money to equip ships had been recently exercised. A large part of the fleet which fought against the Spanish Armada and that of the fleet which had taken Cadiz had been provided by means of ship writs. In 1613 the court of Admiralty had been authorised to order a press of ships to suppress piracy. In 1619 maritime towns had been required to provide ships and shipmoney for the expedition to Algiers. In 1626 ships had been collected in this way for war with Spain. In the Tudor periods the way had been prepared not only for ship levy but of shipmoney. In 1588 some persons in seaport towns and some inland districts had objected to be assessed for ship. Already the seaports and bordering districts had tried to make the neighbouring districts contribute to it. In 1619 the ports were assessed in terms of money.

The innovation of Charles I was only (1) to convert the obligation to supply ships into an obligation to pay a specified sum *throughout the whole country*, (2) to turn the money *to fiscal uses*, (3) to found the king's demand not on actual *but apprehended danger*, and (4) *to extend the obligation to supply ships to the entire country* and not sea-coast counties only.

In the 1st, Shipmoney Writ, 1634—demands were based on apprehended danger—prevention is better than cure.

In the 2nd. Writ, 1635—the whole country was required to pay—the whole country was equally interested in repelling invasion. A London merchant Chambers brought a case against imprisonment, but lost the case.

In the 3rd. Writ—case of Hampden cropped up.

(a) King's arguments were :—(1) In an emergency the king has prerogative of acting as he likes for the safety of the state—one of the measures may be levying of money. (2) If the measures were not taken in anticipation it might be too late. (3) As to whether such a danger actual or apprehended exists the king is the sole judge. (4) There is no justification that these discretions would be abused, for wider powers had been entrusted to him i.e.—peace and war.

(b) Hampden's arguments were :—(1) In the case of actual danger the king can act as he pleases but not in other case. (2) This is no prerogative of the king ; for, in case of instant danger subjects may also act as much—in fact law is in this case superseded and from this no inferences can be drawn as to the legality or extent of the powers conferred upon the king. It follows, therefore, that since it is the actual existence of danger which gives the king power such a situation cannot be created by king by mere allegation of the king and the case of nearly apprehended danger does not add to the legal powers of the king. In such a case Parliament may be summoned and necessary steps taken.

The court's decision, if pushed to its logical extreme, would have given him the last word in conflict with Parliament. But the lack of certainty that any discretionary power given to the king would be used to establish the sovereignty of the prerogative, made it necessary to cut down the crown's power to such an extent that unless supplemented by Parliament they were quite insufficient to deal with a national emergency. True there was much to be said on ground of law and of policy, for the way in which the court decided the legal issues, but it is clear that when a decision was made against the king it was

ignored and that when it was made for crown it was extended beyond all bounds. The Long Parliament therefore declared shipmoney illegal and annulled judgment against Hampden.

Failure of Stuart Fiscal Policy

The causes of failure were : (1) The king and his officers underestimated the intelligence of the English people when they supposed that they were blind to the real issues which lay behind these decisions. (2) They made also a serious underestimate of the strength of the popular resentment which they were arousing, (3) If they had had a military force at their disposal and (4) civil service under their control they might have ignored this resentment, but they had neither. (5) If the Stuarts had been wiser men the working of the system of the local Government would have taught them the helplessness of an attempt to applying in detail the consequences deduced from the judicial decisions.

Under the Earlier Stuarts the fiscal claims of the kings greatly agitated the people who would not agree to pay illegal impositions ; and yet the king was in need of money to wage wars and manage affairs of state. Hence the conflict, Under the Later Stuarts, however, the fiscal issue was not so much pressing. For, the Parliament granted in 1660 a regular goodly annual income to the king by way of taxation.

4. THE THEORY OF DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGSHIP

Analysis :

James I's title to the throne disputed. To give a wig to his claim he propounded Divine Right of Kingship. Divine Right, as understood by the Stuarts :

Arguments :

1. The king is appointed by God to rule.
2. He is responsible to God and not to his people.
3. His subjects must obey and not rebel.
4. The King is above the law, as laws are made by King.
5. The King has right to give away his power of ruling to his son, and hence kingship is hereditary.

The theory was accepted by the Church of England. Origin of the theory dates to the middle Ages. The Stuart Kings translated the theory into actions, Quarrel over sovereignty was the result.

Bishop Bossant wrote his classic treatise on "Divine-right Monarchy" for the guidance of the young son of Louis XIV. But eighty years earlier the pedantic Stuart king James I carefully worked out such a theory. There were political reasons behind his enunciation of the theory,

James I's title to throne

The Parliamentary title of James I was defective, as the claims of the House of Suffolk under the will of Henry VIII and the Act of Parliament authorising him to dispose of the crown, was legally indisputable. James I became a legitimate sovereign after his coronation by an Act of his first Parliament. So he laid much emphasis upon the theory of hereditary succession in order to make his title to the throne strong. Moreover he was by natural inclination, an upholder of absolute authority. So he held the theory of Divine Right of Kings,—*a deo rex*, in other words, 'the king is from God'. The monarch was the immediate representative of God, to whom alone he was responsible.

Origin of the theory

The origin of this theory may be traced to two sources : (1) The Papal authority and (2) the Roman Law. The Pope claimed to derive his power from God himself. When the Reformation brought the Church under the control of the king, it was quite natural that the king should also claim divine authority.

Secondly, the Roman Civil Law, which was being studied in the Tudor period in England, attributed to the Roman emperors a power found on divine institutions. The ecclesiastics ascribed divine authority to the English kings. To James I it was clear that God had divinely ordained kings to rule, as Saul was anointed by Jehovah's prophet. Peter and Paul urged Christians to obey their masters and Christ himself said, "Render unto Cæsar that which is

Caesar's". As, the father corrects his children, so the king should correct his subjects. As the head directs the hands and feet, so the king should control the members of the body politic.

James I had advanced the theory some years before his accession to the throne of England in a treatise on the "True Law of the Free Monarchies". It was warmly supported by the high churchmen, who taught the doctrine of passive obedience and by the Judges who exalted the personal authority of the crown.

Theory of Divine Right

The theory of Divine Right of Kings maintained,—

(a) that in each country God has appointed a particular form of government, namely monarchy, and that it is His Will that a certain person be king.

So the king is responsible to God alone for the way in which he rules, and he is not responsible to any individual nor to any earthly association,

(b) that the king is to rule as he wishes, and he is to give account to God for both his private life and his public rule, and will be judged by God according to the way he has ruled.

So the people should not judge the king. They are expected to obey the king in all circumstances. They must never disobey and never rebel,

(c) that the king is above the law. For law is made by the king. Hence the famous Latin epigram of James I "*a deo rex, a rege lex*", in other words, "the king is from God and law from the king."

(d) that the king has Divine Right to give away his power of ruling. He receives from his father some power and it is his duty to hand that power to his son.

Herein comes the idea of hereditary character of the kingship.

This theory was fully expounded by Sir Robert Filmer in his famous book "*Patricia*" written in the

reign of Charles I but not published till after the restoration of Charles II.

The theory of Divine Right of Kings was very satisfactory from the *royal point of view*. "It safeguarded the king from rebellion, it preserved him from losing his throne, and it left him an absolute monarch' But it was necessary that the people should believe it. James I approached the convocation of the church and asked it to give religious sanction to this theory in 1604. He also encouraged Cowell to write a work called "King's Prerogatives" on Divine Right theory and he proved that the monarch was above the law.

From theory to action

As James I upheld his theory steadfastly, there ensued conflict of opinions. The Parliament reiterated its rights and would not recognise the divine right of the kings. In 1621, in particular, James I had had exchange of hot words on the question of Divine Right. Parliament asserted its right to discuss the king's foreign policy which James regarded as beyond the power of Parliament. From this quarrel emerged the famous "Protestation" wherein the Parliament stated that it had got the right to discuss all the questions concerning the king, the state and the church.

After him Charles I declared his faith in the Divine Right. His belief led him to suspend the parliament and rule without parliament. The more he became absolutist, the more he came to clashes with the parliament till at last he lost his head. Charles II was shrewed. He believed in the theory, but would not define it. His brother James II resuscitated the Divine Right theory. He always regarded himself as above the law. This had led him to claim that he had the suspending and dispensing powers and passed the famous "Declarations of Indulgences," which ultimately cost him his throne.

5. STATUTES OF CONSTITUTIONAL IMPORTANCE

(A) THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT, 1679

Analysis :

The Precedents of Personal Liberty.

Case of Jenks. The offence of Jenks.

The Act of Habeas Corpus, 1679. Main provisions : Its importance.

(a) *The Habeas Corpus Act, 1679* : This Act was passed in 1679 by the new Parliament which met after the dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament. The arbitrary imprisonment of political offenders by Lord Clarendon had directed attention to the inadequacy of ancient remedies against illegal detention.

Need of introduction : The right of personal liberty rested on the Common Law ; the subject was always legally free from detention except on a criminal charge or conviction or for a civil debt. Any freeman imprisoned was entitled to demand of the court of King's Bench a writ of *habeas corpus*. This writ issued of right and could not be denied, but possessed defects : (1) The gaoler was not bound to make an immediate return and often used to move the prisoner from place to place. (2) The jurisdiction of the courts was not clear. It was doubtful whether it could be issued by the Court of Common Pleas or the Court of Exchequer or by a single judge of the Kings Bench in vacation.

The crown made attempts to defeat the right altogether by maintaining that the special command of the king was a sufficient cause for commitment. This was argued in the case of the Five Knights, and specifically denied by the Petition of Right. Further encroachments were made by the crown, and these led to the remedial clauses in the Act abolishing the Court of Star Chamber. Under Charles II Clarendon imprisoned political offenders in distant and unknown places. This necessitated a demand for more speedy remedy, and several bills were introduced but failed to pass the Lords. In 1676 the case of Jenks* brought matters to a head. This

*Jenks was arrested for a speech asking the king to call a new Parliament. On a writ of *habeas corpus* being applied for, the court held that change of prison quarters amply exempted

led to the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act, 1679, which aimed at preventing the devices by which the right to the writ was hitherto evaded.

Provisions

(b) The following are the main provisions of the Act :

1. That the Lord Chancellor or any judge could, during vacation, award a writ of habeas corpus to any prisoner accused of crime other than treason or felony, on request being made in writing.

2. That on service of the writ the prisoner is to be brought before the court within a limited time, viz. within twenty days after service of the writ, and the court shall then discharge the prisoner on bail, if the offence be bailable.

3. That the prisoners committed for treason or felony should be tried at the next sessions or released on bail; and if they are not tried at the second session, they should be discharged.

4. That gaolers disobeying the writ were to pay the aggrieved party £ 100 for the first offence, and £ 200 for the second one and to lose their office; and any judge illegally denying a writ was to pay £ 500 as damages.

5. That no prisoner, once delivered by habeas corpus, should be re-committed for the same offence.

6. That no inhabitant of England or Wales was to be imprisoned in Scotland or beyond the seas.

Its importance

(c) The *importance* of the Habeas Corpus Act lay in securing the personal liberty of the people against arbitrary imprisonment by the king's order. According to Dicey, the whole history of *habeas corpus* illustrates the predominant attention paid under the English Constitution more to *remedies* i.e. to modes of procedure by which to turn a merely nominal right into an effective one real right, than to solemn *declara-*

the governor of the prison from liability for not delivering up the prisoner.

tion of rights. Thus, while the right to personal freedom in foreign countries is declared in the Constitutional document, in England there is no such Constitutional guarantee to the right to personal freedom. It is based primarily on common law, and so it has been observed that in England the liberties of the subject stand primarily upon the foot of 'Common law.'

The function of the Habeas Corpus Act is that it is merely a procedural law which secures the *enforcement* of the right rather than proclaiming its *existence*. Hence Dicey observes that "the Habeas Corpus Act did not introduce any new principle or confer any new right ; but for practical purposes it is worth a hundred constitutional articles guaranteeing individual liberty." As long as the Habeas Corpus Act is in force any person who has been wrongfully imprisoned, has the certainty of having his case duly investigated and of recovering his freedom, so long as there is a single individual who is willing to move for his cause.

Apart from securing the liberty of the subject, the writ of Habeas Corpus determines the whole relation of the judicial body to the executive. It enables the courts to exercise an effective check against the excesses of the Government. In fact, the power possessed by the judges of controlling the administrative conduct of the executive has been so exercised in England as to prevent the development of any system corresponding to the "administrative law" of the Continental Countries.

Criticism

The *defects* of the statute were—(a) it fixed no limit on the amount of bail ; (b) it applied only to criminal charges ; (c) it did not guard against falsehood in the return. The first was remedied by the Bill of Rights, 1689. The last two defects were remedied in 1816 when judges were required to determine the accuracy of the return, and the right of Habeas Corpus was extended to non-criminal cases.

(B) THE BILL OF RIGHTS, 1689

Analysis :

The Declaration of Right enacted by Parliament. Main provisions .

Its constitutional importance :

- (a) Ended Constitutional struggle
- (b) Ended despotic power of the King.
- (c) Established supremacy of Parliament.
- (d) Established supremacy of Law.
- (e) Warranted liberty of the people.

(a) *Need of introduction* : The Bill of Rights, 1689, was an instrument of great constitutional importance. On its basis William of Orange and his wife Mary were installed on the English throne. It embodied, in its substance, the important conditions according to which the British Monarchy was henceforth to govern its kingdom. In its retrospect, this Constitutional measure was the outcome of the bitter lessons which the nation in general and the Parliament in particular had learnt from the arbitrary acts of James II, and as such it emphatically set forth all the breaches of the constitution which James II had violated and declared those acts as illegal.

Provisions

(b) *Provisions* : The important provisions of this historic document were :

- (1) The suspending and dispensing powers of the king are illegal.
- (2) The king has no right to impose taxes without the consent of Parliament.
- (3) The king has no right to dispense justice in the prerogative courts like the court of High Commission.
- (4) The raising or keeping of a standing army in time of peace is illegal.
- (5) Parliament should be held frequently for legislative purposes and for the redress of grievances.
- (6) The members of Parliament are to enjoy freedom of speech and debate.
- (7) The king has no right to interfere in the election of the parliament.

(8) No excessive bail is to be demanded nor excessive fine or severe punishment is to be inflicted.

(9) The jurors are to be duly impanelled and returned.

(10) The crown in future was not to be held by a Popish King or Queen, nor by a person marrying a Popish partner.

(11) The crown is offered to William and Mary conjointly. After Mary's descendants the throne is to be occupied by her protestant sister Anne and her descendants. And in the event of this failure, the English throne is to pass on to the descendants of William III by any other marriage.

Constitutional Importance

(c) *Constitutional importance* ; The Bill of Rights, 1689, is a great landmark in the constitutional history of England. It is claimed as the third great charter of English history, ranking with Magna Carta. Taswell Langmeade applauds it as the 'central stone of the constitutional building'. Adams acclaims it as the 'most interesting document of English History'. Indeed, this historic document embodied much that was creditable and momentous in its consequence.

(i) It ended the long drawn out constitutional struggle. Throughout the seventeenth century there had raged between the king and Parliament a struggle in which the very nature of the British government, the sources of its authority, and the method and channel of its expression were at stake. Such a fateful struggle involving the fundamental character of the government was now settled, never to be raised in English History. And this was no mean achievement of the revolution. G. M. Trevelyan rightly remarks that the Bill of Rights "prevented for all times to come a repetition of the tragedies of the Stuart Kings."

(ii) It dealt a blow to the despotic powers of the king. Hitherto the Stuart kings had been wielding varied and unlimited powers. They used to keep a

standing army, exercised suspending and dispensing power, held arbitrary courts, interfered in the election of Parliament and even levied taxes without the consent of the nation. They also dissolved the Parliament at any time they liked and would do without it for years together. Evidently the Stuart kings had a very strong position and were absolute in their realm. But the Bill of Rights now extremely curtailed the king's powers and made his position sufficiently weak. Under the new conditions the king could no longer use any dispensing power; he could not levy taxes arbitrarily. His prerogative Courts, like that of Court of High Commission, were abolished. He himself had no power to raise or keep a standing army. In short, the Bill of Rights made the king a mere creature of an act of Parliament.

(iii) It signified the supremacy and sovereignty of Parliament. For about a century a great struggle had been going on between the King and the Parliament over the fundamental issue whether the king or the Parliament was the real sovereign of England. It was in 1689 that the Bill of Rights practically decided that Parliament and not the king was the real sovereign of the kingdom. It was specially laid down in the Bill of Rights that the king would, henceforth, levy no taxes without the advice of Parliament; that Parliament should be held frequently for the redress of its grievances. The privileges of the Members of Parliament, like freedom of speech and debate, were also guaranteed. Evidently, the Bill of Rights marked a great milestone on the road leading to the establishment of the sovereignty of the Parliament in England.

(iv) It established the supremacy of law. It affirmed in more specific language than any earlier documents the underlying facts of the English constitutional development—that the king had no right to violate the fundamental laws of the land. After enumerating the arbitrary act of James II, this document clearly stated the measures which were “utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of the realm.” It further required the

king to make due deference to these laws of the Empire.

(v) It guaranteed liberty to the people of England. They were given certain rights to defend themselves against the arbitrary government of the king. They had the right to petition the king. They could not be taxed arbitrarily. No excessive bail could be demanded from them, nor excessive fines or punishment could be inflicted upon them. Adams rightly remarks that "It would be not too much to say that by providing remedies for the enforcement of the particular rights or for averting definite wrongs, the Anglo-Saxon liberty had been created and made more secure."

(C) THE ACT OF SETTLEMENT, 1701

Analysis :

Main provisions.

Its constitutional importance :

- (a) Parliament's right to regulate succession.
- (b) Divine Right of King repudiated.
- (c) Future English Monarchs to be Protestant.
- (d) Independence of judges,
- (e) Ministerial responsibility.
- (f) Act passed by a Tory Parliament. So the Tories now accepted Revolution Settlement.

Origin

(a) *Introduction :* The Act of Settlement, 1701, was properly speaking an Act of Succession. William and Mary were childless. All the children of the princess Anne had died. In 1700 the sole surviving son of Anne, Duke of Gloucester, died. This led to the passage of the Act of Settlement to arrange the question of succession.

Provisions

(b) The *provisions* of the Act of Settlement were :

1. That Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants, should succeed to the throne after Anne.

Sophia was the grand-daughter of James I (her mother was Elizabeth who married the Elector of Palatine) and the wife of the Elector of Hanover.

II. That the Sovereign of England should belong to the Church of England.

III. That England should not be involved in any foreign war without the consent of Parliament.

IV. That no foreigners should hold any public post.

V. That judges were to hold office *quam diu se bene gesserint*—i.e., as long as they behaved themselves and were to be removed only on petition from both Houses of Parliament to the King.

VI. That no royal pardon under the Great Seal should stop impeachment by the Commons.

VII. That the Sovereign should not go abroad without the Consent of Parliament.

VIII. That no pensioner or placeman was to be a member of the House of Commons.

IX. That all public business should be done in the Privy Council and not in Cabinet councils, and the decisions should be signed by all its members.

Importance

(c) *Critical Estimate of the Act :*

(1) Firstly, the Act of Settlement, 1701, is a natural complement of the Revolution. It is the next important addition to the English Constitution, grown out of the Bill of Rights, read with Magna Carta and the Petition of Right. It recites the clauses of the Bill of Rights regulating succession and provides for the exclusion of Papists from the throne. This action of Parliament emphasised the national right to regulate the succession just as the old Witenagemot used to do in the days before the Norman Conquest. The title of the English kings rested not on hereditary right but on the Act of Parliament. The idea of Divine Right was finally repudiated.

(2) Secondly, the Act of Settlement was passed by a Tory Parliament. It was a great change in the

minds of the people. Like the Whigs, the Tories also acquiesced to the principles of the Revolution.

(3) Thirdly, the whole nation was committed to support the Protestant succession. Not a voice was raised for James II or his son, and the descendants of the daughter of Charles I were passed over in silence, they being Catholic. The Parliament fell back on the line of James I. It followed that all future sovereigns were to take the oath at their Coronation according to the Bill of Rights.

(4) Fourthly, the judges were made independent of the Crown. Previously the Stuarts tried to rule arbitrarily with the aid of judges who were retained in office as long as they were in the confidence of the crown. The judges had in some cases also acted against the interests of the general people. The independence of the judges was beneficial to the growth of English Constitution.

(5) Fifthly, the two principles that (i) the king acts only through his ministers, and that (ii) these ministers are responsible to Parliament—were asserted by the Clause I above. The clause was, however, repealed in 1705. This was drafted because of the jealousy of the powers exercised by the cabinets. ;

Prior to Charles II the Privy Council exercised alone the administrative functions, while other committees of the Ordinary Council disposed of other matters. Charles II formed an inner Cabinet Council, to which all important matters were referred in the first instance. The system was brought into disrepute by the *Cabal* Ministry, and was prolific of many evils. It deprived the Privy Council of all power to check the actions of the king, and vested the government in a body of ministers who were practically irresponsible.

(6) Sixthly, Clause VIII was aimed at the influence which the crown had obtained through the distribution of offices and pensions.

(7) Seventhly, the House of Commons by invoking the power of impeachment finally made the king's ministers responsible for all acts of state.

Constitutional Importance

Constitutional Importance of the Act: Hallam has given this Act of Settlement high rank 'as the seal of English Constitutional laws', but another historian has called it more 'abortive than the Commonwealth Constitutions'. For, the latter broke down as they embodied too many ideas for which men's minds were not yet ripe; while the Act of Settlement broke down because it embodied ideas which were passing away. It was at best a monument of political prejudices and panaceas of the day that was erected by both the parties. The Tories were hostile to the king because he was William: the Whigs were hostile to William because he was king. They therefore united to frame an Act which was rather a censure upon King William. From a perusal of the drafting of the Act it is apparent that the Tories were not in favour of the foreign policy of William. Some other clauses were modified during the reigns of Anne and George I, and were of temporary importance. The only clauses which have survived in their entirety are those relating to succession and judges. Victoria was chosen Queen by the Act of Settlement, and the Judiciary remains practically irremovable. Since that time judges may have been influenced in their conduct and decision of cases by hope of favour, but not by *fear of royal spite*.

6. ORIGIN OF PARTIES : WHIGS AND TORIES

Analysis :

Origin in the reign of Elizabeth.

Growth of parties from the civil war period.

The origin of Whig and Tory Parties over Exclusion Bill.

Principles and programme of Tory and Whig Parties.

One of the chief features of the British Government today is the 'Polity of Parties'. A party is an organised group of citizens who are held together partly by agreement of opinion and partly by interest and personal association. It tries to control government in a democracy, though the party system is not directly recognised by law.

Origin

Historically, the origin of English parties may be traced back to the time of Elizabeth. In the later years of her reign, members of Parliament particularly the Puritans grew increasingly restless and began to oppose the queen in Parliament. In the Stuart era when conflicts arose in the Parliament between the King and Parliament, the opposition became more marked and stronger. Based on religious dissatisfaction, commercial and trading fears, and goaded by the spectre of the counter-reformation movement, the Parliamentarians became increasingly vociferous. But still there was no grouping of these Parliamentarians according to secular or political consciousness into two separate parties. During the course of the Civil War, a division came to be more specified. In reality, during the course of the war, a group of people who supported the king were known as "Cavaliers" while the other group who stood for Parliamentary Government and opposed king's arbitrary exercise of prerogative were called the "Round heads." After the Restoration two opposing parties appeared in Parliament and came to be crystalized into two definite entities. They were known as the "Court Party" and the "Country Party."

Speaking broadly, the court party was led by Danby. He was a champion of king's prerogative, the Anglican church of England and also Parliament. He expected that the King should be able to get his things done with the consent of Parliament. For this purpose, he used bribery for winning over a substantial block of members. The policy was a success for the time being.

As against the court party there emerged the country party, led by the Earl of Shaftesbury. He was opposed to the monopoly of the political power by the Anglican squierarchy. He supported the financiers, merchants and non-conformist shopkeepers who wielded the lion's share of power in the nation. Shaftesbury also made it a point to attack the corrupt ministers. The chief motivation of this party was the purse.

The court party was formed out of the Cavaliers who fought for King Charles I. The country party rose from the Roundheads who fought for the Parliamentarians. This gives us a clue for the composition of both the parties. The country party, later known as Whigs, were recruited from Non-conformist tradesmen and the Presbyterians who disliked the established church and the Crown after 1660. The court party, later known as Tories, were recruited from loyal Anglicans, the gentry of manors and the clericals in rectories.

It was in the year 1679 when there was intense public excitement over the "Exclusion Bill" that the names *Whig* and *Tory* were first applied to the two great political parties in the state. In that year Shaftesbury wanted to exclude James II from succession. He and his friends sent petitions to the king to summon Parliament and solve this question. They were called 'petitioners'. On the other hand, the court party sent Counter-petitions expressing their abhorrence of the conduct of the country party. These were known as "Abhorrrers". Later on, when the controversy over the Exclusion Bill grew bitter they named each other contemptuously instead of naming themselves.

Thus came into use the two terms. Whig and Tory
 • Whig is a Scottish word meaning 'sour milk', and Tory is an Irish word meaning robber'. Whigs were therefore rebels, and Tories brigands and Papists, But few people knew what the names originally meant, and soon both parties were proud of these meaningless titles. The Tory party was brought into being by Danby, while Shaftesbury was the founder of the Whig Party. The Whigs looked to the people and so were advocates of parliamentary government; but the Tories looked to the king and so were supporters of royal prerogatives, and the Church.

Principles and programme of Parties

After 1689 during the reigns of William III and Anne the two parties—Whigs and Tories—organised themselves further. They improved their resources,

buttressed their organisations and framed their policies and chalked out programmes,

The Tory *Principles* were laid down in the "Patriarcha" of Filmer and "Leviathan" of Hobbes. They supported royal prerogatives and still held the ideas of divine right and passive obedience. They did not like to fetter the king's authority. In church matters, they supported the church of England and so did not like to extend religious toleration to the Dissenters. They wanted that the Clarendon Code be strictly enforced. In foreign affairs, they cared little for the balance of power and impeached the Whig leaders for concluding the Partition Treaties without the consent of Parliament.

To these principles were wedded, generally, the people living in the country side who were conservative in their outlook. The pacifists, high churchmen and generally old people formed this group.

The *Whig principles* were discussed in the "Treatise on Civil Government" by Locke and in the Bill of Rights, which has been called the "Koran of Whiggism". The Whigs were supporters of popular rights and so they upheld constitutional government. They were in favour of limited monarchy. In church matters, they were in favour of religious toleration to the Dissenters. In foreign affairs they were for interference in continental politics, war with France in the interest of Balance of Power. They were also strong advocates of Mercantilist Policy. The whigs were mainly composed of merchants, militarists, townsmen, Dissenters and the moneyed class. They were progressive in ideas. The House of Lords had always a Whig majority.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

Table No. 1.

THE TUDORS

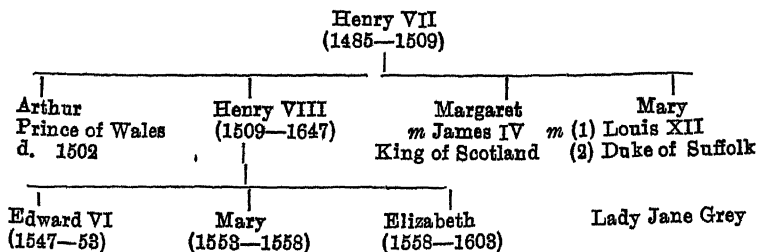


Table No. 2.

CHARLES V Emperor

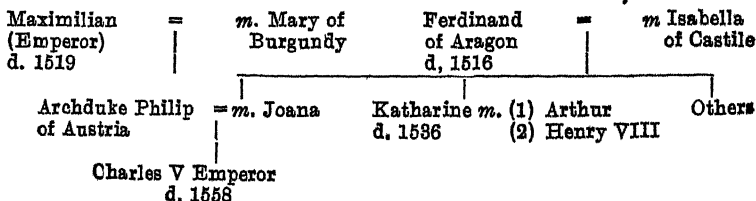


Table No. 3.

LORD DARNLEY

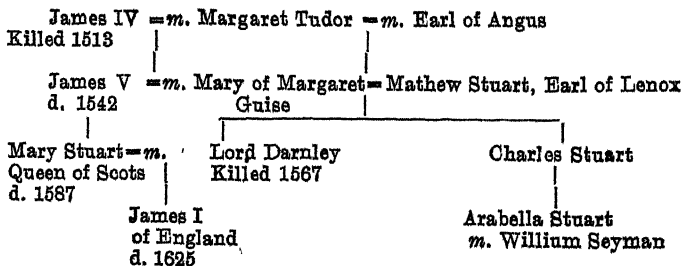


Table No. 4.

THE STUARTS

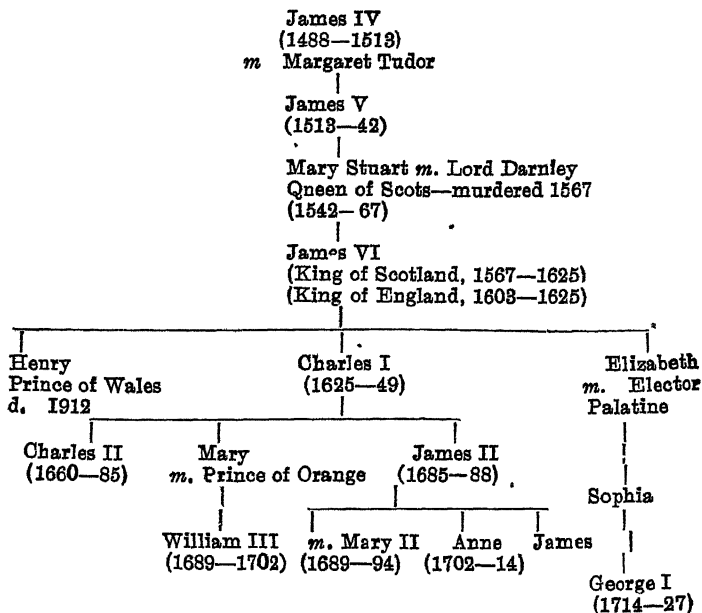
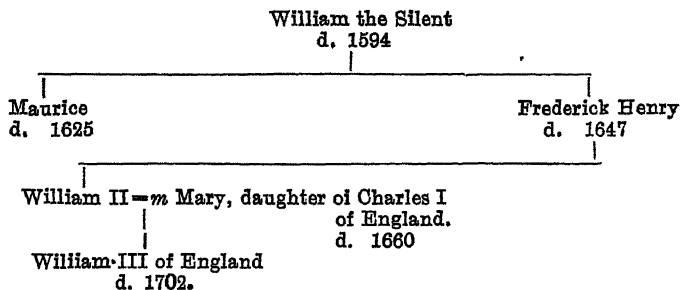


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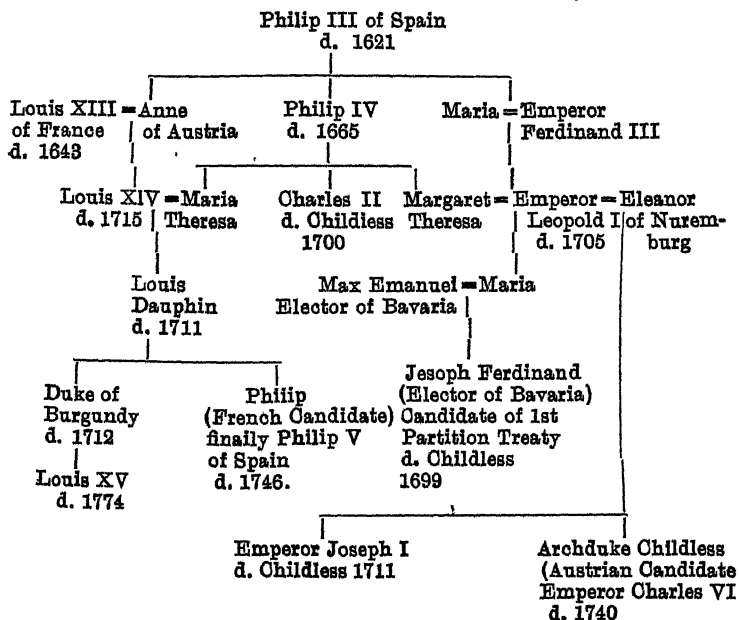
WILLIAM OF ORANGE



ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS AND STUARTS

Table No. 6.

PROBLEM OF SPANISH SUCCESSION



BANK QUESTIONS

[Questions culled herein were set in various Examinations, e.g.]

C. U.—Calcutta University	I. A. S.—Indian Administrative Service Examination.
A. U.—Allahabad	„
M. U.—Madras	„ I. A. A. S.—Indian Audit and Accounts Service Examination.
P. U.—Punjab	„
Pat U.—Patna	„ I. C. S.—Indian Civil Service Examn.
S. C.—Senior Cambridge.	W. B. C. S.—West Bengal Civil Service Examination.

POLITICAL

Henry VII

1. 'His policy and conduct bore at all times the signs of cautious and experienced Statesmanship'. Discuss this estimate of Henry VII. (I. A. S. '62). (P. 10ff.)
2. Examine the Character and Statesmanship of Henry VII. (C.U. 63). (P. 23—26)
3. Form an estimate of the achievements of Henry VII as an administrator and as a diplomat. (C.L. 64, 63). (P. 10—26)
4. Indicate the causes which enabled Henry VII to set up a new system of Government. (C.U. 11, 60, 65). (P. 10—26)
5. "The reign of Henry VII was a period of Seed-time, and a period of remedy"—Explain. (C.U. 46, A.U. 40). (P. 26ff.)
6. Describe the chief ways in which Henry VII and Henry VIII strengthened the New Monarchy. (C.U. 62) (P. 10—16, 38—40, 336—341).

Henry VIII

1. Do you consider that Wolsey's foreign policy was 'faulty in aim and futile in results'? (IAAS 34). (P. 44ff., 49—50)
2. Discuss the attitude of Henry VIII towards the religious issue. (I.C.S. 32) (P. 50—67, 69—75)
3. Explain how the Reformation in England in the reign of Henry VIII was more political than religious. (M.U. 38). (P. 69—75)
4. Compare carefully the ecclesiastical policies of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth I. What were the most important parliamentary measures by which the church of Rome was overthrown and the Settlement of religion finally achieved? (I.A.S. 54). (P. 69f. 107—113)
5. What part did Parliament play in the reign of Henry VIII? (C.U. 65). (P. 351—56).

6. "The instrument chosen by Henry to effect his Royal Reformation was Parliament". Examine the role of Henry VIII and Parliament in bringing about the Reformation in England (I.A.S. 59). (P. 69f., 19f).

7. Account for the ease with which between 1530 and 1534 Henry VIII and Parliament were able to break with the Papacy. (IAS 61) (P. 50—55)

8. Review the home and foreign policy of Henry VIII. Why was such policy successful at the time? (C.U. 18) (P. 38—44, 77—80)

9. Sketch the career of Wolsey. Describe the character and policy of Wolsey. (C.U. 16, 21) (P. 44—50)

10. "Wolsey was the first statesman to raise England to a great place in European politics"—Discuss. (C.U. 41, 44) (P. 44—50)

11. Discuss the importance of the measures of the Reformation Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII. (C.U. 63) (P. 71—75)

12. Compare the home policy of Wolsey with that of Thomas Cromwell. Discuss the effects in each case. (C.U. 19) (P. 44—50, 61—65)

13. Discuss the importance and difficulties of the problem of the succession to the throne in the Tudor Period. (B.C.S. 34, I.A.S. 47) (P. 8—10, 101—2)

Edward VI

1. What value do you attach to the reigns of Edward VI and Mary Tudor in English History? (C.U. 63) (P. 86—87, 89—94)

Mary Tudor

1. Give a short account of the life of Mary, Queen of Scots, from her accession to her imprisonment in the Loch Leven Castle, showing her position in the international politics of the day. (C.U. 16, 17) (P. 119—125)

2. What were the claims of Mary, Queen of Scots, to the throne? Examine the attitude of Elizabeth towards the Queen of Scots from the battle of Langside to Mary's death. (C.U. 16) (P. 101—102)

3. Estimate the international importance of the various marriages and proposed marriages of Mary, Queen of Scots. (C.U. 18) (P. 122f.)

Elizabeth I

1. "That curious instinct of oneness with the English people was the secret of Tudor greatness." Explain this statement, with reference to the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. (I.A.S. 63) (P. 336—341)

2. Analyse the character of Elizabeth and show how it affected her government and policy. (B.C.S. 34) (P. 150—153)

3. Show that the character of Elizabeth was reflected in her policy both home and foreign. (C.U. 14) (P. 150—153)

4. Show how the circumstances of the country and those of her personal position moulded Elizabeth's foreign policy down to 1587. (IAAS 29) (P. 150—153)

5. Consider the justice and the wisdom of Elizabeth's treatment of Mary, Queen of Scots. (IAAS 34) (P. 120—125)

6. Examine the points of dispute regarding the succession of Elizabeth to the English throne, and show how the succession question affected the international politics of her reign. (C.U. 16) (P. 101—103, 113ff)

7. What were the chief provisions of the Second Act of Supremacy and the Third Act of Uniformity of 1559? State the religious difficulties that these Acts were meant to overcome. (C.U. 18) (P. 103—113)

8. Give an estimate of the Character of Queen Elizabeth. (C.U. 18) (P. 150—153)

9. Examine the purposes of, give an account of, and estimate the results of the following plots. Ridolfi's Plot, Throgmorton's Plot; Babington's Plot. (C.U. 18) (P. 135—136)

10. Contrast England's position at home and abroad in 1603 with what it was in 1558, and show how far it was due to Elizabeth. (Pat. U. 18) (P. 102—3ff)

11. What were the principal difficulties that Elizabeth had to face during the early part of her reign (1558-88)? How did she tackle them? (C.U. 48) (P. 102ff)

12. Can Elizabeth's foreign policy be described as one of splendid Isolation? (C.U. 65) (P. 113ff., 150ff., 126—31)

13. Discuss the main features of the foreign policy of Elizabeth. How did it differ from that of her father? (C.U. 63) (P. 113ff., 126—131, 150ff)

14. Explain Elizabeth's foreign policy towards France and Spain. (C.U. 61) (113ff)

15. Analyse the causes of England's quarrel with Philip II of Spain. What were the effects of the destruction of Spanish Armada? (C.U. 27, Pat. U. 18) (P. 115ff, 136—143)

16. "Great Britain has always viewed with alarm the growth of French influence in Belgium." Why? Illustrate the fact from English history of the Tudor and Stuart periods. (P. 125ff)

17. Describe and Account for the rapid growth of English colonies overseas under the first two Stuarts. (IAAS. 29) (P. 372ff)

18. How far was the foreign policy of Henry VII influenced by economic considerations? (ICS 32) (P. 14ff., 24—26)

19. Give an account of Elizabeth's policy to the Netherlands. (C.U. 16, 60)

20. Show how the identification of Protestantism with patriotism saved England from Spain. (C.U. 16) (P. 129ff)

21. What were the effects of the defeat of the Armada on (a) England and (b) the rest of Europe. (C.U. 16) (P. 136—143)

22. Write a short essay on the English Colonial enterprise in the time of Queen Elizabeth. (C.U. 16, 17, Pat. U. 18) (P. 173—9)

23. Sketch briefly the career of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands and examine Elizabeth's policy towards the Netherlands (C.U. 17) (P. 125—6)

24. What was the contribution of the ministers of Elizabeth to the success of the domestic and foreign policies? (C.U. 69) (P. 125—6)

James I

1. Describe James's efforts to intervene in the Thirty Years' War, and account for their futility. (ICS 32) (P. 173ff.)

Charles I

1. What do you understand by the eleven years' tyranny of Charles I? Give an account of the Personal Government of Charles I (A. U. 38, M.U. 39) (P. 199ff.)

2. Discuss the main causes of the Civil War in the reign of Charles I. (C.U. 64, 62) (P. 219ff.)

3. Describe and analyse the social composition of the Puritan party on the eve of the Civil War. (C.U. 62) (P. 220ff.)

4. What led to the meeting of the long Parliament? Give some account of its beneficial measures. How much of its work was done at the Restoration. (C.U. 13) (P. 208ff.)

5. How far was it true to say that the execution of Charles I was a cruel necessity? (C.U. 39) (P. 227ff.)

6. Say what you know of the Great Rebellion of 1642, illustrating your answer by a Sketch Map. (C.U. 36) (P. 219ff.)

Commonwealth and Protectorate

1. Account for the failure of Commonwealth to survive (C.U. 62) (P. 237ff., 244ff.)

2. "The constant enemy of free institution" (Lord Acton). Is this a just criticism of Cromwell? (IAAS 29) (P. 237ff., 244ff.)

3. Discuss the foreign policy of Oliver Cromwell. (IAAS 28) (P. 246—47)

4. Account for the collapse of the Scots before Cromwell, after their successful opposition to Charles I (ICS 32) (P. 370ff.)

5. Give a critical estimate of the foreign and colonial policy of the Commonwealth. (C.U. 64) (P. 246ff., 390ff.)

6. "Oliver Cromwell was Charles I writ large." Explain this statement critically. (Pat. U. 41, Cal. U. 61) (P. 230—247)

7. "Cromwell's greatness at home was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad". Discuss in the light of this remark Cromwell's foreign policy. (C.U. 47, 21) (P. 230—247)

8. Discuss the character, personality and statesmanship of Oliver Cromwell. (C.U. 63) (P. 244—47)

9. "Oliver Cromwell saved the British Empire from partition, the civil liberties of England from royalist reconquest, the Free Churches and free thinkers from destruction." Amplify. (IAS 62) (P. 230—47)

10. Describe the work of Oliver Cromwell after the death of Charles I. Why did he fail to establish a permanent Republican Government? (C.U. 63) (P. 230—47)

11. Describe the Constitutional experiments of the period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. Why did they fail? (IAS 63) (P. 238—39)

Restoration and Charles II

1. Illustrate the social, political and literary characteristics of the Restoration period. (BCS 34)

2. "The restoration brought Charles II to Whitehall and in an instant the whole face of England was changed". How? (C.U. 21) (P. 248)

3. "The Restoration was a triumph less of the Monarchy than of the Church of England." Discuss this statement with reference to the 1660—88. (P. 248)

4. Write a critical note on the Restoration Settlement till the fall of Clarendon (1667). (C.U. 65) (P. 248)

Charles II

1. Estimate the political importance of the reign of Charles II. (IAAS 29).

2. Did Charles II try to set up a "second Stuart Despotism"? (C. U. 65) (P. 266—67)

3. Explain the causes of the revolution of 1688 by reference to the history of the three preceding years. (IAAS 28) (P. 268)

4. Why did Charles II succeed in ruling without a Parliament for some years, when his father in making a similar attempt had failed? (ICS 32) (258ff, 268ff)

5. What were the principal aims of Charles II during his reign? How far was he successful in achieving them? (C.U. 63) (P. 253ff)

6. "The restoration of Charles II was not only a restoration of the monarchy but a restoration of Parliament as well." Elucidate (C U. 24) (P. 248ff)

7. Make an assessment of the foreign policy of England in the reign of Charles II. (C.U. 61) (P. 256ff)

8. Show that Charles II's policy was determined by his anxiety "not to go on his travels again." (C U. 58) (P. 258ff)

James II

1. Explain why James II's reign began in triumph and ended in his expulsion. (IAAS 34) (P 268ff)
2. Examine the causes of the downfall of James II. In what sense was the Revolution of 1688 called "glorious?" (C.U. 63) (P 273ff.)
3. What led to the Revolution of 1688? What were its results? (C.U. 14, 19, 21, 23) (P. 273ff)
4. How far was the Glorious Revolution of 1688 glorious and a revolution? (Pat. 42) (P. 273ff)
5. Why and how did James II incur the displeasure of the most important sections of the English people? Write a note on the significance of the Revolution of 1688 in English History. (C.U. 63) (P. 268ff.)
6. Describe the Revolution settlement made by the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement. (C.U. 59) (P 416ff, 419ff)

William III

1. Discuss the character and statesmanship of William III. (IAAS 29) (P 284ff)
2. Explain the international significance of the accession of William III to the English throne. (ICS 32) (P. 284ff)
3. Describe the foreign policy of William III, and account for Parliament's opposition to it. (ICS 32) (P. 293ff.)
4. What were the principal features of the Revolution Settlement in England? (M.U. 38) (287ff.)
5. Discuss the Parliamentary legislation of William III. How far did it remedy the evils of the later Stuart despotism? (A.U. 39) (P 287ff.)

Anne

1. In what respects was the reign of Queen Anne memorable? (BCS 34) (P. 302ff.)
2. Describe the cultural progress in the reign of Queen Anne. (IAS 62)
3. Write a note on the foreign policy of England during the reign of Queen Anne. (C.U. 64) (P. 303ff.)
4. Why did England take part in the War of Spanish Succession? What did she gain by it? (A.U. 39, M.U. 34) (P. 296ff., 304ff.)
5. Discuss the part played by England in the War of the Spanish Succession. (C.U. 61) (P. 304ff)
6. 'If at the Armada England entered the race for colonial Expansion, she won it at the Treaty of Utrecht'—Explain (C.U. 45) (P. 305—08)
7. Bring out the importance of the reign of Queen Anne in England's internal development as well as in her external relations. (C.U. 63) (P. 302ff.)

8. What were the arguments of England for her participation in the War of the Spanish Succession? Discuss Marlborough's military tactics and operations in the War. (C.U. 63) (P. 296ff., 304.)

9. Give a critical review of the foreign policy of England from the Revolution of 1688 to the death of Queen Anne (1714) (C U. 65).

RELIGIOUS

1. "The English Reformation was pre-eminently a political movement."—Elucidate. (C U. 61) (P. 69—75)

2. "Elizabeth's reign was one long struggle against the Counter-Reformation"—Justify or Explain. (C.U. 46, M. U. 34) (P. 131—36)

3. Explain the causes, immediate and real, that made the breach with Rome inevitable. What, in your opinion, was the most important effect of the Reformation of Henry VIII in the domain of domestic politics? (BCS Exam. 31) (P. 69ff)

4. Describe the efforts of the Counter-Reformation to capture England and account for their failure. (IAAS 28) (P. 131—36)

5. Trace the development of religious toleration in England from 1688 (IAAS 28).

6. Sum up the results of the Catholic reaction in England and show how Elizabeth dealt with the religious situation in the early years of her reign. (C U. 16) (P. 131ff)

7. What were the chief ecclesiastical difficulties confronting Elizabeth at the beginning of her reign? Give the main points of her church settlement. (C U 17) (P. 103—113)

8. Write a short account of the rise of the Jesuits and their influence (a) in England, (b) in Ireland, in Elizabeth's reign. (C.U. 17) (P. 131—36)

9. Contrast the aims and methods of religious persecution under Mary and Elizabeth respectively. (Pat. U. 18) (P. 88ff, 103ff.)

10. Discuss the attitude of each of the following persons towards the Reformation: (a) Thomas More, (b) Wolsey, (c) Henry VIII. (C U 64, 62).

11. Explain the term 'Counter-Reformation' Show how England was affected by it during the reign of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth. (C U 64, 62) (P. 88ff 103ff.)

12. State the religious policies of Charles II and James II. What were their consequences? (C.U. 64) (P. 261ff, 274ff)

13. What led to the dissolution of the monasteries in England? What were its effects on the society and the constitution of the country? (C U 12) (P. 65ff.)

14. What were the causes of religious persecution : (a) Under Henry VIII and (b) under Queen Mary ? Give an account of the distinguished persons who suffered martyrdom. (C.U. 64) (P. 61ff., 88ff.)

15. Mark the several steps by which the English church was separated from the church of Rome. (C.U. 64) (P. 69ff.)

CONSTITUTIONAL

1. To what extent were financial questions the cause of the troubles of the 17th century ? (BCS 34)

2. Analyse the causes of the struggle between King and Parliament during the period 1603—1642. (BCS 31) (P. 180—190, 192—197, 208—210)

3. Why is the Tudor System of government described as a despotism ? Give some account of the measures and methods by which it was established (IAAS 28) (P. 334—41)

4. How far was Elizabeth's attitude towards Parliament responsible for James's difficulties ? (ICS 32) (P. 350—363, 166, 181—82.)

5. In what respects does the Bill of Rights mark a constitutional advance on the Petition of Right ? (ICS 32) (P. 289ff.)

6. In what ways, and to what extent, did the power and influence of Parliament increase during the reign of Henry VII and Henry VIII ? (IAS 51) (P. 350ff.)

7. Discuss broadly Elizabeth's relations with her Parliament. (C.U. 64, IAS 62) (P. 350ff.)

8. Describe the growth of a constitutional opposition to the crown in the Parliaments of Elizabeth. (C.U. 61, 65) (P. 350ff.)

9. What were the chief complaints of James I's Parliaments ? (C.U. 62, 64) (P. 180—190.)

10. Examine the causes of the conflict between Crown and Parliament during the reign of Charles I. (C.U. 63) (P. 192ff., 208ff.)

11. Discuss the causes and consequences of Tudor Despotism. (A.U. 37) (P. 334ff.)

12. Explain the nature of Tudor Despotism and account for it. (M.U. 38, C.U. 61) (P. 334ff.)

13. Do you think the Tudor Sovereigns were constitutional monarchs ? (C.U. 61) (P. 334ff.)

14. What was the position of Parliament in the State during the Tudor period ? (C.U. 63, 60) (P. 350ff.)

15. Elucidate the Stuart conception of monarchy and illustrate it by referring to the controversies which developed over taxation, the judiciary and religion during the reign of the first two Stuarts (IAS 62) (P. 180ff., 192, 208ff.)

16. Discuss the political doctrines and views of James I with reference to some constitutional controversies in his reign (C.U. 65).
(P 180ff.)

17. Discuss the issues involved in the constitutional struggle between parliament and the first two Stuarts. (C.U. 40) (P. 180ff., 192ff., 208ff.)

18. (a) Sketch the history of the Long Parliament from 1640 to the beginning of the civil war. (C.U. 44, 61) (P. 208ff.)

(b) Indicate its constitutional importance. (C.U. 61) (P 208ff.)

19. Estimate the legislative achievements of the Long Parliament (C.U. 65) (P. 208ff.)

20. How far is it true to say that the Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights introduced nothing new but only confirmed the ancient rights and liberties of the English people? (M.U. 27) (P. 263ff., 303ff.)

21. Describe the growth of the party system from the last years of the reign of Charles II to the death of Queen Anne in 1714. (C.U. 62)
(P. 416)

ECONOMIC

1. Discuss the English enclosure movement of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with special reference to (a) its extent, and (b) the social classes affected by it. (BCS 34) (P 156—162)

2. Discuss the economic consequences of the suppression of the Monasteries. (BCS 31) (P 65—69)

3. Review the main features of the economic history of England during the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, and show how this whole period constituted a stage of preparation for the Industrial Revolution (BCS 31) (P 156—162)

4. Account for the Agrarian Revolution, often known as the Enclosure Movement, that took place under the Tudors, and estimate its influence on Politics (ICS 32) (P 156ff.)

5. Explain the changes in the social condition of England during the sixteenth century. (IAS 62) (P 156ff.)

6. What were the chief economic problems of Elizabeth I's reign and how were they solved by legislation? (IAS 63) (P 156ff.)

7. Review the struggle for commercial supremacy between England and Holland in the second half of the seventeenth century (IAS 62)
(P. 381—86)

ANGLO-SCOTTISH RELATION

1. Analyse the successive phases of Anglo-Scottish relations in the Tudor period and explain the factors which determined these relations in each phase. (IAS 47) (P. 314ff.)

2. Give a brief account of the relations between England and Scotland during the Tudor period. (M.U. 34) (P. 314ff.)

3. Review the Scottish policy of the Tudors. (C.U. 63, 60)
(P. 314ff.)
4. Mark out the Several Stages of the process by which England and Scotland became united in one monarchy between 1603 and 1707. (IAS 63)
(P. 370ff.)
5. Examine the Scottish policy of Henry VIII's and Edward VI's reigns (IAAS 29)
(P. 314ff.)

ANGLO-IRISH RELATION

1. Criticise the different phases of the Irish policy of the Tudor dynasty. (IAS 48)
(P. 320—324)
2. Review the Irish policy of the Tudors (C.U. 64)
(P. 320—324.)
3. "The Tudors' most conspicuous failure was in the government of Ireland". Criticise the Irish policy of the Tudors in the light of this remark. (C.U. 62)
(P. 320—24.)
4. Compare the Scottish and Irish Acts of Union. Give reasons for the success of the one and the failure of the other. (BCS 31)

MARITIME AND MILITARY ACTIVITIES

1. State the main facts concerning the growth of English Sea-power in the 16th century. (C.U. 62)
(P. 329ff)
2. "The Tudors gave direction to the expansive energies of the English people."—Elucidate. (IAS 63)
(P. 329ff)
3. Estimate the part played by the Englishmen in the geographical discoveries of the 16th century. (C.U. 60)
(P. 329ff)
4. Give an account of the voyages of exploration and the growth of over-seas trade in Elizabeth's time. (C.U. 65)
(P. 329ff)
5. Discuss the part played by British Sea-Power in the reigns of William and Anne (C.U. 60)
(P. 387ff)

LITERARY AND CULTURAL

1. Write an essay on the achievements of the Elizabethan Age in the field of Literature. (C.U. 61)
(P. 143ff)
2. "The age of Elizabeth may rightly be regarded as the golden age of English literature"—Justify. (C.U. 29)
(P. 143ff)
3. What is the import of the phrase "The Spacious times of Queen Elizabeth"? Give short notes on Edmund Spenser, Christopher Marlowe, Sir Francis Bacon, and Sir Francis Drake.
(P. 143ff)
4. Describe the cultural progress in the reign of Queen Anne. "In the realm of literature the England to Elizabeth stands on a pinnacle by itself". (Black) Elucidate. (C.U. 57)
(P. 143ff.)

BIOGRAPHICAL

1. Sketch the career of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, and examine his claim to be regarded as "The greatest general that England has produced," adding a sketch-map to illustrate one of his campaigns. How would you account for his downfall? (BCS 31) (P. 308ff)
2. Write a short sketch of the political life of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford (IAAS 28) (P. 205ff.)
3. What is your estimate of John Churchill? (ICS 32) (P. 308ff)
4. Give a short account of the Career of William of Nassau, Prince of Orange (C.U. 18). (P. 284ff.)
5. Sketch the importance of the career and ideas of Thomas Cromwell. (IAS 52) (P. 61—65)

MAP

1. On the outline map illustrate the following :
 - (1) the area of religious and political disturbances in England during the Tudor period. (IAS 47)
 - (2) the voyage of English explorers and adventurers in the Tudor period. (IAS 52)
 - (3) the places where fighting and disorders took place in the course of the Tudor period. (IAS 53)
 - (4) the parts of England where there was discontent in the 16th century. (BCS 34)
 - (5) the military struggles in England and Scotland from 1642 to 1655. (IAS 52)
 - (6) Courses of the Civil War in the reign of Charles I (IAS 48, 52)
 - (7) the division of England on the eve of the Civil War (1642—46) and the chief events of the war. (IAS 55, 57, 59, 62)
 - (8) Campaigns and battles of Oliver Cromwell. (IAS 54)
 - (9) the principal naval events in the Dutch Wars of Cromwell and Charles II. (ICS 32)
 - (10) course of the War of the Spanish Succession. (IAS 61)
 - (11) the English conquest of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century. (IAS 51)
 - (12) the positions of all the English possessions acquired in the period 1485—1714. (ICS 32)

(See Text-books and study maps carefully)

UNIVERSITY AND P.S.C. EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

Calcutta University Questions

1968

1. What were the distinctive features of the New Monarchy in England? Assess the contribution made by the first Tudor monarch to the foundation of this monarchy?
2. Discuss the origin and nature of the Reformation in England. How far had the Reformation proceeded by the death of Henry VIII?
3. State the main principles which guided Henry VIII in his relations with France and Spain.
4. Form an estimate of the religious settlement of Elizabeth.
5. Describe the scope and limitations of the privilege of free speech in the Parliaments of Elizabeth.
6. Examine Elizabeth's policy towards the Netherlands during her reign.
7. Review the Scottish policy of Tudors.
8. To what extent was the political thought of James I coloured by the doctrine of the Divine Right of kings? Show in what way it contributed to widen the breach between him and his Parliaments.
9. Review the work of the Long Parliament up to August 1642 in the reign Charles I
10. Make an estimate of Oliver Cromwell as a constructive statesman.
11. Discuss the foreign policy of Charles II. Was it advantageous to England?
12. Indicate the importance of the reign of Queen Anne in England history.

1969

1. Do you think that Henry VII and Henry VIII were constitutional monarchs?
2. What were the important legislative measures of the Reformation Parliament in the reign of Henry VIII? Discuss their religious and constitutional significance.
3. What were the salient features of Henry VII's foreign policy?
4. Make a critical assessment of the role of Parliament during the reign of Elizabeth.
5. Explain the term Counter-Reformation. Show how England was affected by it during the reign of Elizabeth
6. Review the Irish policy of the Tudors.

7. What were the chief complaints of Parliament during the reign of James I? How far were they justified?
8. How did Puritanism affect the cause of events in the reign of Charles I?
9. Review the foreign and colonial policies of the Commonwealth.
10. Show how Charles II succeeded in his relations with Parliament where his father failed.
11. What were the causes of the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89? Explain the Revolution Settlement which followed.
12. Write a critical note on the growth of the party system between Charles II and Queen Anne.

1970

1. Form an estimate of the first Tudor monarch as a law-giver by bringing out the social, economic and constitutional significance of his legislations.
2. How was the sovereignty of King-in-Parliament established in England during the reign of Henry VIII?
3. Critically examine the foreign policy of Wolsey.
4. Make a critical assessment of the religious policy of Elizabeth.
5. How did "the rise of gentry" affect policy in Elizabethan period?
6. Write a short essay on the growth of English naval, colonial and commercial power under the Tudors.
7. Discuss the views held by James I about monarchy, during his reign. How did they serve to widen the breach between him and his parliaments?
8. Discuss the Rule of Thorough or the Eleven years' Tyranny in the reign of Charles I. Why did it fail?
9. Write a short essay on the character of the Civil War.
10. What were the Constitutional innovations attempted in England between 1649 and 1660, and with what success?
11. Examine the foreign policy of Charles II. Was it advantageous to England?
12. Write a note on the importance of the reign of Queen Anne in English History.

1971

1. Explain why the reign of Henry VII is regarded as making a new epoch in the history of England.

2. In what ways did the Henrician Reformation differ from the Continental? How far had it proceeded by the death of Henry VIII?

3. In what ways did Cromwell, the new statesman, differ from Wolsey, the old?

4. Review critically Elizabeth's policy towards the Netherlands during her reign.

5. Account for and describe the growth of parliamentary opposition to the crown in the reign of Elizabeth.

6. Examine the Irish policy of the Tudors.

7. Discuss the main complaints of the opposition in the Parliaments of James I. How far were they justified?

8. Form an estimate of the achievements of the Long Parliament up to August, 1641, in the reign of Charles I.

9. Give a critical estimate of the foreign and colonial policy of the Commonwealth.

10. Sketch the growth of the English party system from the last years of the reign of Charles II to the death of Queen Anne in 1714.

11. State briefly the causes of the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89 and examine the Revolution Settlement which followed.

12. Write a critical note on British Foreign policy in the reign of Queen Anne.

1972

1. Give an account of the 'good laws' made by Henry VII and bring out their constitutional importance.

2. What is the historical significance of the dissolution of monasteries?

3. Make a critical estimate of the foreign policy of England during the reign of Henry VIII.

4. Discuss the policy of Elizabeth towards Spain and Scotland. To what extent was it successful?

5. What were the limitations to the privilege of free speech in the Parliament of Elizabeth? To what extent could they be defended?

6. Comment on the relations between the crown and judges during the reign of James I.

7. Discuss the constitutional changes and experiments made by Oliver Cromwell. Was he a constructive statesman?

8. Write a critical note on the Restoration Settlement till the fall of Clarendon (1667).

9. Examine the foreign policy of Charles II. Did it benefit England in any way?

10. Review the plan of Second Stuart Despotism in the reign of James II. Why did it fail?

Burdwan University**Part—II HISTORY (HONOURS) 1965**

- (1) What factors help to explain the new strength acquired by the English monarchy in the Tudor period? (P. 334ff.)
- (2) Was the English Reformation caused merely by the caprice of a Monarch? (P. 52ff.)
- (3) Did the decade 1530—1540 really see a "revolution" in the theory and working of the English state? (P. 69ff.)
- (4) Examine Elizabeth's policy regarding the Netherlands. What light does this throw on the character of her foreign policy as a whole? (P. 113ff.)
- (5) To what was Parliament an important and independent part of the constitution in the Tudor period? (P. 350ff.)
- (6) Analyse the main trends within the Puritan Movement of the first half of the 17th century.
- (7) How and why did the Long Parliament split up into two opposing parties on the eve of the Civil War? (P. 208ff.)
- (8) Examine the political role of the New Model Army between 1646 and 1653, pointing out the significance of the new constitutional ideas put forward by its officers and soldiers. (P. 233—39.)
- (9) Did Charles II try to establish a "Second Stuart Despotism" in England? (P. 248ff.)
- (10) Examine the nature of the party struggle between Whigs and Tories in the reign of Queen Anne (P. 414ff.)

1965

Part—II HISTORY (HONOURS) 1962 Syllabus.

- (1) How did Henry VII consolidate royal power in England? (P. 10ff.)
- (2) What were the real aims of Wolsey's foreign policy, and to what extent was he successful in achieving them? (P. 44ff., 49ff.)
- (3) Examine the causes and the effects of the dissolution of the monasteries. (P. 65ff.)
- (4) Write a brief essay on the religious policy of Elizabeth. (P. 103ff.)
- (5) Examine Elizabeth's policy regarding the Netherlands. What light does this throw on the general features of her foreign policy as a whole? (P. 125ff.)
- (6) Why could not James I win the confidence and cooperation of Parliament? (P. 180—90)

- (7) Do you think arbitrary rule could have continued indefinitely in England, if only Charles I had not interfered with Scottish religion? (P. 199ff.)
- (8) Examine the political role of the New Model Army between 1646 and 1653, pointing out the significance of the new constitutional ideas put forward by its generals and soldiers. (P. 233—39)
- (9) What is the significance of the Restoration of 1660 in English history? (P. 248ff.)
- (10) Sketch the history and political ideals of the Tory party from the Exclusion Bill agitation to the death of Queen Anne. (P. 414ff.)

Part—I HISTORY (HONOURS) 1966

- (1) Did the reign of Henry VII really mark the beginning of a new age in English history? (P. 3ff.)
- (2) Do you consider Wolsey to have been a great Foreign Minister? (P. 44ff., 49ff.)
- (3) What were the causes and the effects of the dissolution of the Monasteries? (P. 65ff.)
- (4) Examine the chief features of the Elizabethan Church Settlement of 1559. Why has her religious policy been described as a *via media*? (P. 103ff.)
- (5) "The reign of Elizabeth marks the beginning of England's greatness overseas" Explain (P. 329ff.)
- (6) Why could not James I win the confidence and cooperation of Parliament? (P. 180—90)
- (7) "... it was a war not of classes or of districts, but of ideas" Is this an adequate estimate of the nature of the Civil War?
- (8) Did the period of the interregnum (1649—1660) leave any permanent mark on English history? (P. 233ff.)
- (9) Examine the French policy of Charles II and James II, and show how it influenced internal developments in England. (P. 256ff.)
- (10) What is the importance of the Glorious Revolution of 1688? (P. 278ff.)

1966

Part—I HISTORY (HONOURS) 1962 Syllabus

- (1) Did Henry VII establish a New monarchy in England? (P. 10ff., 335ff.)
- (2) Form an estimate of the policy and achievements of Thomas Cromwell. (P. 61—63)
- (3) Review the Scottish policy of the Tudors. (P. 314ff.)
- (4) Sketch the growth of a constitutional opposition to the Crown in the Parliaments of Elizabeth? (P.—350)

- (5) Estimate the part played by Englishmen in the geographical discoveries of the 16th century. (P. 329ff.)
- (6) What were the principal issues involved in the struggle between Crown and Parliament during the reigns of the early Stuarts? (P. 180ff.)
- (7) Analyse the main trends of the constitutional development of England in the first half of the 17th century. (P. 897ff.)
- (8) Do you agree with the view that Cromwell's real greatness was not at home but abroad? (P. 240—124.)
- (9) Was England really threatened by a "Second Stuart Despotism" during the reign of Charles II? (P. 253ff.)
- (10) Discuss the part played by England in the War of the Spanish succession (P. 303ff.)

Gauhati University

1967

- (1) Examine the work of Henry VII as a monarch and show how far his period was period of 'seed time'. (P. 3ff, 26ff.)
- (2) Discuss the origin and nature of the English Reformation under Henry VIII (P. 55ff.)
- (3) Account for the trace the history of the development of English maritime and naval power in the sixteenth century. (P. 329ff.)
- (4) Analyse the successive phases of Anglo-Scottish relations in the Tudor period. (P. 314ff.)
- (5) What were the main constitutional issues of conflict between the first two Stuarts Kings and their Parliament? Explain and discuss these issues. (P. 400—408)
- (6) Sketch the career and character of Oliver Cromwell. Can he be regarded as a great statesman? (P. 234ff)
- (7) Trace the development of political parties and party organisation in England from 1640 to 1714. Explain the main issues that divided the Whigs and the Tories. (P. 414ff)
- (8) What led to the Glorious Revolution of 1688? Why is it called 'glorious'? (P. 273ff.)
- (9) Describe the progress made in England in the domain of literature, science and culture from 1660 to 1714.
- (10) Examine the part played by England in the War of Spanish Succession. What were the gains to England as a result of this War? (P. 303—4ff.)

Agra University

1962

- (1) Give an account of the domestic policy of Henry VII.
(P. 10ff)
- (2) Why and how did Henry VIII break off with the Pope? What were its results?
(P. 55ff.)
- (3) 'Henry VIII was the greatest parliamentarian that ever sat on the English throne.' Elucidate this statement. (P. 335ff., 350ff.)
- (4) 'The accession of Mary Tudor was very popular, but her death was equally welcomed'. Elucidate this statement. (P. 88ff)
- (5) Indicate the progress made by England under Elizabeth in the sphere of maritime and colonial enterprise (P. 329ff)
- (6) Give an account of Elizabeth's social reforms (P. 156ff.)
- (7) Examine critically the foreign policy of James I. (P. 173ff.)
- (8) Give an account of the relations between Crown and Parliament from 1649 to 1688. (P. 400—409.)
- (9) Throw light on the growth of the 'party system' in England from 1689 to 1714.
- (10) Comment on any two of the following .—
(a) The Cabal Ministry (1667—73), (b) the Bill of Rights 1689, (c) the Act of Settlement (1701), (d) the Treaty of Utrecht 1713.

1963

- (1) Discuss the causes and results of Tudor despotism (P. 335ff.)
- (2) Discuss the religious policy of Henry VII (P. 60—67, 69—75.)
- (3) Give an estimate of the achievements of Elizabeth's reign.
(P. 101ff 126ff., 150ff)
- (4) 'The great event of the Stuart period is the struggle between the King and Parliament.' Discuss (P. 400—403ff.)
- (5) How far is it correct to say that the execution of Charles I was a cruel necessity? (P. 227ff.)
- (6) 'Cromwell's greatness at home was a mere shadow of his greatness abroad' Discuss in the light of this remark his foreign policy.
(P. 230ff.)
- (7) Discuss the constitutional importance of the reign of Charles II.
(P. 266ff)
- (8) How far was the Revolution of 1688 glorious and a revolution?
(P. 273ff)

- (9) Describe the foreign policy of William III. (P. 298ff.)
- (10) 'If at the time of the Armada England entered the race for colonial expansion, she won it at the Treaty of Utrecht.' Elucidate this (P. 305ff.)

1965

- (1) What were the chief effects of the Renaissance in England? In what respect did it pave the way for the Reformation? (P. 35ff.)
- (2) Can the word 'Reformation' be applied to the changes which were made by Henry VIII in the Church. (P. 69ff.)
- (3) 'The accession of Mary Tudor was very popular, but her death was equally welcomed'. Elucidate this statement. (P. 88ff.)
- (4) Prove that the Elizabethan age was golden age of English History
- (5) Describe the state of the religious parties in England at the accession of James I and the policy towards them adopted by the King.
- (6) 'Religion and taxation were the two main causes of struggle between Charles I and his parliament'. Discuss. (P. 400—409ff.)
- (7) How far is it true to say that Oliver Cromwell was an imperialist? (P. 230ff.)
- (8) 'James II was responsible for his own misfortunes'. Is this a fair verdict? (P. 268ff.)
- (9) Describe the growth of the 'party-system' in England from 1660 to 1714. (P. 414ff.)
- (10) Write short notes on any two of the following :—
- (a) Desiderius Erasmus ; (b) Armada ; (c) Cabal ministry ; (d) The Petition of Right ; (e) Mary Stuart.

1966

- (1) How did Henry VII strengthen the Tudor Monarchy? (P. 10ff.)
- (2) Give a brief account of Wolsey's service to his king and the country. Do you think that his fall was due to the conflict between his desire to support the church and to serve the king? (P. 44—50., 61—65ff.)
- (3) Although Henry VIII's government was absolute, often tyrannical and cruel, he gave England what she wanted (P. 335ff., 354ff.)
- (4) What were the causes of the failure of the Reformation introduced during the time of Edward VI? (P. 81—87.)
- (5) What were the difficulties Elizabeth had to face at her accession. How did she solve the religious question? (P. 101ff., 103ff.)

- (6) What were the causes of conflict between James I and his parliaments? (P. 180—190ff.)
- (7) Was the execution of King Charles I a 'cruel necessity' in your opinion? (P. 227ff.)
- (8) Describe the various constitutional experiments during the Commonwealth period. (P. 233—39.)
- (9). 'Charles II was the ablest of the Stuarts'. Discuss this statement with reference to Charles II's home policy. (P. 253ff.)
- (10) Describe the causes and results of the Spanish War of Succession. (P. 296ff.)
- (11) Write short notes on any two of the following :—
 - (a) Anne Boleyn.
 - (b) The Court of Star Chamber.
 - (c) The Poor Laws of 1601.
 - (d) Lord Strafford
 - (e) The Act of Settlement.

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1960

- (1) Explain the Tudor system of Government and indicate the place of Parliament in it. (P. 335ff., 350ff.)
- (2) What were the aims of Protector Somerset? Account for his failure. (P. 81ff.)
- (3) Discuss the religious policy of Elizabeth. (P. 103ff.)
- (4) What led to the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642? (P. 219.)
- (5) "Cromwell was not only a militant Protestant; he was an imperialist" Discuss. (P. 240—47.)

1961

- (1) Review briefly the major factors or forces which effected the change from mediaeval to modern England. (P. 3ff.)
- (2) Sketch the course of the Reformation from 1529 to 1539 and indicate its results. (P. 50—55.)
- (3) Discuss the causes of the conflict between Elizabeth and Spain. (P. 115ff.)
- (4) Form an estimate of the character of James I and account for his unpopularity. (P. 167.)
- (5) Explain the origin of the political parties and trace their growth upto 1714. (P. 414ff.)

1962

- (1) "The reign of Henry VII was a period of remedy and seed time." Discuss. (P. 26ff.)
- (2) Give an account of the life of Mary, Queen of Scots. What influence did she exercise on the history of England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth? (P. 119ff.)
- (3) To what causes would you attribute the success of Tudor Despotism? (P. 339ff.)
- (4) "Religion and taxation were the two main causes of struggle between the first two Stuarts and their Parliaments." Discuss (P. 400ff.)
- (5) Account for the restoration of the Stuart Monarchy in 1660. (P. 248ff.)

1963

- (1) Give a brief sketch of the career of Cardinal Wolsey and his influence on the foreign policy of Henry VIII. (P. 44—50.)
- (2) Trace the course of the Reformation movement in England during the Tudor period. (P. 50ff.)
- (3) Elizabeth's reign was one constant struggle against the forces of Counter Reformation. Elucidate. (P. 88ff.)
- (4) Sketch briefly the unconstitutional acts of Charles I during his arbitrary rule of eleven years. (P. 129ff.)
- (5) Discuss briefly the internal administration acts of Cromwell. Account for the fact that his rule though arbitrary was tolerated by the people whereas for the same defeats Charles I lost his life. (P. 230—247.)

1964

- (1) Critically examine the Domestic and Foreign Policy of Henry VII. (P. 10ff.)
- (2) How far was Wolsey's foreign policy based on the doctrine of Balance of Power? (P. 44—50.)
- (3) What were the domestic problems that faced England during Elizabeth's reign? (P. 103ff.)
- (4) "The wisest fool Christendom." Is this correct estimate of the character and work of James I? (P. 167.)
- (5) Examine the various schemes for the governance of England from 1649 to 1660 and account for their failure. (P. 233—39.)